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FUAD KING OF EGYPT

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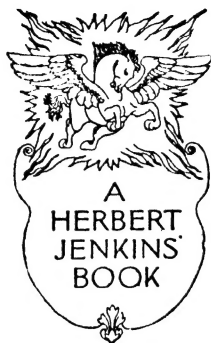
SIRDAR IKBAL ALI SHAH

Author of

*The Golden East, Lights of Asia,
Oriental Caravan, etc., etc.*

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Dedicated
to
MY FATHER :
SYED AMJED ALI SHAH
NAWAB OF SARDHANA

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	SON OF KHEDEVE ISMAIL - -	17
II	ALEXANDRIA AND THE SUDAN -	35
III	PRINCE FUAD RETURNS TO EGYPT	56
IV	PRE-WAR INTERESTS - - -	69
V	THE WAR - - - -	83
VI	THE PROTECTORATE - - -	97
VII	THE KHEDEVE - - - -	113
VIII	EARLY POLITICAL TRIALS - -	128
IX	KING IN ACTION - - -	145
X	CONFUSION WORSE CONFOUNDED -	170
XI	ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MONARCHY	178
XII	ZAGHLUL - - - -	188
XIII	AUTOCRACY - - - -	200
XIV	A POLITICAL LULL - - -	210
XV	GUERRILLA WARFARE - - -	224
XVI	EUROPEAN JOURNEYS - - -	233
XVII	THE FIGHT PROCEEDS - - -	241
XVIII	THE DRUG SCOURGE - - -	251
XIX	THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES - -	259
XX	THE FINAL PHASE - - -	274
XXI	ACHIEVEMENTS - - - -	285
XXII	MOSLEM THEOLOGY - - -	296
	INDEX - - - - -	313

ILLUSTRATIONS

HIS LATE MAJESTY KING FUAD OF EGYPT	<i>Frontispiece</i>
THE CITADEL, CAIRO - -	<i>facing page 58</i>
RAS EL TIN ROYAL PALACE, ALEXANDRIA -	108
LUXOR TEMPLE - - - -	154
AN EGYPTIAN BAZAAR - - - -	190
TOMB OF MAMELOUKS AND THE CITADEL -	234
EGYPTIAN SCHOOLBOYS AT LUXOR TEMPLE STUDYING THE WONDERFUL MONUMENTS ERECTED BY THEIR FOREFATHERS -	270
H.M. KING FAROUK - - - -	298

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FUAD:
KING OF EGYPT

“It is nothing to be a Prince ; it is something to be useful.”

“It is only when a people cultivates earnestly its feelings of veneration for its ancestors, and the deeds of its own heroes, that it learns and appreciates to the full the secret of its future, for it attains at that moment the highest point of civilisation.”

“Our glories in the past, as also our sacred traditions, will aid us to urge forward our Fatherland at its re-birth toward that human perfection which, throughout the struggles of peoples, and through all the speculations of philosophers of every age and every country, from Aristotle to Leo Tolstoi, has been the dream of countless centuries, the dazzling beacon-light in the centre of the ideal horizon of the human race.”

KING FUAD.

FUAD, KING OF EGYPT

CHAPTER ONE

SON OF KHEDIVE ISMAIL

UNLIKE ALEXANDER THE GREAT, Ahmed Fuad, son of the Khedive Ismail, and the first of the Modern Kings of Egypt, had no Aristotle to interpret his dreams. Although he had the urge to forward his Fatherland at its re-birth toward that greatness which would be favourably comparable with the glories of Egypt in the past, he failed to find that human perfection of which he spoke.

No sovereign in modern history has been so ill-served by his Ministers; no sovereign, even in turbulent Europe, has found himself in a position so amazingly ambiguous, and certainly no allegedly constitutional ruler has maintained such a fierce and insistent warfare with those whose purpose in life was to emulate Aristotle, if not in the interpretation of dreams, at least in crystallising the will of the people.

From the moment King Fuad ascended his throne to the moment when illness cut him down, he was fighting. If he was not engaged in a bout with the

British, he was engaged in furious combat with his Ministry. Frequently it was a dual affair with the British authorities on one side, indignant and aggressively upbraiding, and on the other, a highly provocative and recalcitrant Cabinet. In the periods when there was no Cabinet, as such, and the King found solace in what was popularly known as "Palace Dictatorship", he was estranging his people.

His indeed was a tempestuous life, in which intrigue and counter-intrigue formed the principal ingredient.

In the end he was to die, at the comparatively early age of sixty-eight, and after a reign which lasted for nearly twenty eventful years.

King Fuad was born at Gizeh Palace on March 26, 1868. He was the youngest son of the Khedive Ismail, grandson of Ibrahim Pasha, and great-grandson of the great Mohamed Ali.

As the son of Ismail he was born in an atmosphere of incredible intrigue and almost licentious extravagance. As soon as he could speak and understand, he found a court at war with the Ministry. Every day he heard the fulminations of a Prince who had surrendered his personal power in a constitutional regime. The Khedive Ismail spent his days in reviling those about him, and in refusing to comprehend the doctrines of constitutionalism.

Ismail was a past master in the art of having his own way. When chided by the British because of his attitude toward his Ministry, he sulked.

"Let the Ministers govern," he said in effect. "I

will leave the Ministers to their own devices, but—I cannot consent to the imposition of any new taxes without consulting my people!”

The Ministry soon came to heel, and it was not long before Ismail was dominating his Council of Ministers. The presence of the Khedive at the Ministerial board meant that he retained the semblance of constitutionalism while the Ministers bowed the knee. If anything was propounded which was adverse to his interests, the issue immediately became personal, and it is sufficient to say that King Fuad inherited his well-known irascibility from his father.

Ismail had a marked reluctance to paying the officers of his army, and salaries were normally many months in arrear. Many officers and their families were reduced to a state bordering on destitution, and without a constitution they would have remained so. With the British eternally at his elbow, Ismail was forced to give his Ministers a certain freedom of action, and the Ministers, appalled by the situation in the army, decided to take steps. Arrangements were made to pay some of the arrears, and to place a large number of officers on half pay.

The Ministry blundered. Instead of carrying out this measure of reform in a normal way, invoked the old custom of requiring the officers to come and salaam for their pay.

Two thousand five hundred officers were concentrated in Cairo, to receive but a portion of their dues, and to lay down their swords. The disgruntled

officers almost outnumbered the garrison, and when they saw two members of the Ministry out in their carriages, they mobbed them, maltreated them, and shut them up in the Ministry of Finance.

When told that a mob of officers was besieging the Ministry, the Khedive did not lack courage. He ordered his carriage and immediately repaired to the spot, and commanded the rioters to disperse. When they refused to do so, he called out his troops, and in the encounter which ensued, Ismail took a prominent part. His personal danger can be gauged by the fact that his chamberlain received a sabre cut while standing by his side.

Fuad's father was now reaching the end of his tether. When the army officers mutinied there was no money in the state coffers with which to meet their full demands.

When calling upon the rioters to disperse, Ismail assured them that their salaries would be forthcoming, and immediately.

The officers, in point of fact, were eventually paid, but only after considerable difficulty. Some of the banks were approached, but they would only consider the matter of advancing money at disastrous rates of interest. A scheme was mooted for collecting taxes in advance, but this was abandoned in the face of British disapproval. In the end the famous firm of Rothschild provided the money, and the officers were paid.

His officers appeased, Ismail saw in this a great victory. He had demonstrated to his army that a

Ministry could not pay salaries while he, with a word, had conjured up the money.

Nevertheless, the country was bankrupt and could not pay its external debts, but undeterred, Ismail rid himself of his Ministers and surrounded himself with counsellors amenable to his whims and under his absolute control. He was the modern Duce and the reincarnation of the Emperor Augustus. He told the fellahin that money was scarce as so much had to be paid to European countries in return for sums loaned, and made them thoroughly discontented. Every time he applied the lash to extort money, he assured the unfortunate victim that the foreign taskmasters were really behind the courbash.

Egypt, of course, was nominally Turkish, but Ismail disdained Constantinople, and declared that the Khedive was above all.

The country groaned under extortion, and the tardily paid army was increased. The Treasury was empty, and all was ripe for an explosion, when the Western Powers, thoroughly alarmed, invited Ismail to "withdraw, under favourable and honourable conditions, from a position which his character and past career had unfitted him to fill".

Ismail, with abdication staring him in the face, sent large money presents to the Sultan, and told him confidentially that the Western Powers, so far from being ingenuous, only intended to rob him of his rights over Egypt.

So overcome was the Sultan with this news that he quite forgave his wayward Viceroy, and believed him

when he said that all the reports which were spread about him were nothing more than calumny born of the desire of territorial gain on the part of the Powers.

The Sultan prepared to assist Ismail, and turned coldly on the Powers with the information that when it became necessary to dismiss a Khedive, he would prefer to do so himself.

Ismail considered his position secure, more especially as all was not in accord in the European camp. The Duce had yet to march on Rome, and Italy was more than suspicious of French and British intentions. Rome was more than inclined to support Ismail, and held forth as the friend of backward nations. She had yet to take Massawa, the open door to Ethiopia and the sources of the Blue Nile.

The French and British, however, would not be gainsaid, and demanded to see Ismail in his Palace.

Fuad's grandmother, sure that this presaged an attempt on her beloved Ismail's life, went down on her knees and implored the Khedive not to receive them.

Ismail, even in the blind rage which consumed him, laughed at the fears of his harem. Driving his lamenting parent before him to the very doors of the women's apartments, he fought down his anger sufficiently to control his features. The representatives of the Powers he received with a bland disregard for their carefully conceived perorations, but this was a diplomatic pose conjured up from the depths of long experience which deceived nobody. It was obvious to all at this momentous interview that Ismail was not

himself, and that he had very little understanding of what was passing.

All that he could, or would say, in response to the earnest arguments with which he was assailed, was :

“I will not abdicate.”

He said this with weary repetition, and the representatives of the Powers, observing the hopelessness of the situation, had perforce to leave.

Prince Ismail did not sleep that night, but spent the hours pacing the corridors of his Palace. The Palace servants gazed upon him from the distance, wide-eyed and afraid, for his rage was berserk in its intensity.

At intervals, he would rush to his desk, and in short, staccato sentences, rap out a decree to a weary-eyed secretary. These decrees were designed to outwit the European Powers, and here Ismail had only to draw upon his natural cupidity. He had thrown dust in the eyes of the British and the French in the past, and he saw no good reason why he should not succeed in doing so again. He had the greatest contempt for Western diplomacy, and he had good reason. ;

Decrees were dictated as Ismail, racked by a spirit of blind defiance and a desire for revenge, concocted means whereby he could embarrass these slow-thinking Westerners ; but almost as quickly as they were evolved, they were abandoned, and destroyed.

From mutilated papers which were afterwards discovered, it was learned that Ismail entertained the wildest and most hare-brained schemes during this night of travail, not the least remarkable being one to

inundate the country around Alexandria, to swamp out and confuse the Powers, and to create a useful, time-saving diversion.

Actually, only one decree emerged from this maelstrom of angry, futile effort, and this was one increasing the army's strength to 150,000 men. Ismail would show these Europeans that he could fight, and that he was no puppet to dance at their behest.

During that wild night of bizarre and extravagant cogitation, one thing, and one thing only, circumvented Ismail, and that was the appalling emptiness of the State coffers. No matter what scheme he devised, no matter how tortuous the plan, that insurmountable wall raised on the grisly bones of national bankruptcy remained as an insuperable obstacle. No matter the nature of the fantasm, the dire want of money proved the baulk.

With the cold light of dawn there came an element of reason. Ismail saw the approaching shadow of Fate's heavy hand, and hurriedly, orders were given for the packing of the Royal jewels and their immediate transport to the Royal yacht then lying at Alexandria.

In this stormy interim, Constantinople, at last convinced of the pacific intentions of the Powers, bowed before the diplomatic cyclone, and another Khedive was named. This was Prince Tewfik, one of Ismail's sons and the youthful Prince Fuad's brother.

Ismail now saw that the end had indeed come. He sent for Tewfik, and there was a harrowing scene in the Palace. Both father and son were reduced to tears,

and Ismail, while intimating to his Ministers that he was handing over power, could hardly articulate because of his emotion.

When the moment came for Ismail to sign the documents legalising his abdication, his nervous condition was such that he could barely wield the pen. The art of penmanship was an effort for Ismail at any time. Ordinarily he wrote in childish characters, half an inch in height, and laboriously formed. He had never been known to write a complete letter. Indeed, it is doubtful if his powers were equal to penning a complete sentence.

His signature appended to the paper of abdication was a sorry, scrawling affair, blotched by the scalding tears which dropped from his streaming eyes and almost illegible because of the tremor of his hand.

Fuad's father was almost completely uneducated in the modern sense of the term. He was a man of amazing personal courage, and one to whom power meant everything. Yet, it was not personal aggrandisement which caused his downfall, but a burning desire to place Egypt on the same civilised plane as Western nations. The condescension which he sensed in his dealings with those of the West infuriated him above all else, and he would introduce into his country a social scale for which it was ill-prepared.

When Ismail was escorted to his yacht at Alexandria, he first declared his intention of departing for Constantinople. While still in the harbour, he changed his mind, and said he would seek asylum in Smyrna.

Before he set sail, he learned that the King of Italy

had placed a residence at his disposal in Naples. This decided Ismail, and he set course for Italy. With him was Prince Fuad, then ten years old. This was on June 30, 1879.

Once settled in Europe, Ismail had time to cogitate on his shortcomings. In the cultured atmosphere of Naples, his own gaucheries were brought home to him. He realised that in his schemes for the enlightenment of Egypt, he had neither knowledge nor experience.

He saw himself as he was in 1855 when he had visited Paris, and had expended money with reckless abandon on articles of the most doubtful value. He went to Paris with his brother, Mustapha on this occasion, and he shocked the people of the French capital. Anything that took Ismail's eye, he wanted, no matter what the cost. Once secured, the Prince lost interest in his purchases. They were allowed to fade and spoil for want of attention.

Ismail resolved that Fuad should not labour under these disabilities, and that he should have an education which would fit him for a world which might not be too sympathetically inclined toward the son of an exiled Prince, and one withal who had been exiled for rank incompetence and arrant mismanagement.

He sent Fuad to receive early instruction at the Tudicum Institute in Geneva. When Fuad was fifteen years of age, he was translated to the Military Academy at Turin. Still later, he attended the courses at the School of Practical Artillery and Military Engineering. He received a commission as Lieutenant

from King Emmanuel, and joined the 13th Regiment of Field Artillery, which was part of the garrison of Rome, and he continued to serve in the Italian army until he was twenty.

During these years, Prince Fuad grew to a great liking of Italian culture and of Italian ideas. His relations with the Italian Court were extremely cordial, and there is no doubt that the spirit which he then imbued profoundly influenced the rest of his life.

In 1900, the Sultan of Turkey nominated Prince Fuad as Military Attaché to the Ottoman Embassy at Vienna. The Prince proved to be a popular figure in the Austro-Hungarian Court, and he remained in this environment for two years, until indeed, the death of his brother Tewfik, and the accession of his nephew, the young Khedive, Abbas II.

Abbas II turned to his uncle for advice, and calling him from Vienna, installed him in Cairo as his aide-de-camp with the rank of General.

In the fourteen years which had marked the Viceroyalty of Tewfik, and Prince Fuad's exile from the country, tremendous changes had taken place in Egypt.

Here, for a moment, I may be allowed a digression.

Recently, I was reading Kaye and Malleeson's *History of the Indian Mutiny*. In this I was observed by a very worthy Englishman, an omnivorous reader, and a close student of foreign affairs.

He remarked: "I can never read those Eastern books. They madden me. They are just a collection

of characters, loosely thrown together, who engage in gyrations largely futile. They jump about the pages without rhyme or reason, and one requires a separate dossier to make intelligent reading. As soon as one has become interested in one character, one is submerged beneath a whirlpool of humanity. The people who write on Eastern matters can never take a central character, and stick to him. They involve themselves and the unfortunate reader in a hopeless jumble of names, and the result is chaos."

I admit that this slashing criticism appalled me, but on reflection, I came to the conclusion that it was just.

The pages of Eastern history crawl with names like ants trekking to an ant-hill. That of Egypt is no exception, but I will do my utmost to cut through all except essentials. In touching upon the events which occurred in Egypt during the absence of Prince Fuad, I will skim lightly over the years, only pausing to remind the reader of the major incidents. Indeed, my purpose in referring to this interim at all, will only be to maintain continuity and cohesion.

I adopt this course, not only for the sake of clarity and brevity, but in deference to the writings of a great British pro-consul. Those who desire to learn of this time in all its varying and confusing detail, can do no better than turn to the one great masterpiece on this absorbing subject, Lord Cromer's *Modern Egypt*.

Later, of course, when dealing with the kingship of Fuad, the picture will require more detail. Here, too, however, I will bear vividly in mind the devastating

criticism of my worthy Englishman, and endeavour not to whirl too giddily.

As soon as Ismail left Alexandria on his yacht, the Western Powers, having placed Tewfik in the saddle, desired to consolidate his position. What France and Great Britain required more than anything else was orderly and systematic progress, stretching beyond the time when the comparatively youthful Tewfik should be called to his fathers.

They approached the Turkish Sultan in the matter of the eventual succession—a delicate matter and one which had to be raised with considerable circumspection.

The old Moslem law on the subject has its roots in the most ancient of history. In effect it is that the eldest son is not necessarily the heir-apparent, but the eldest member of the family. To a substantial degree this law still obtains throughout many parts of the East to this day, and it is a fruitful cause of bloodshed and inter-family warfare. The history of many of the great houses of the East is redolent of such incidents. If one turns to the Book of Kings, one reads that Jehu, on obtaining possession of the throne, killed the seventy sons of Ahab. The Powers did not wish to see Biblical history repeated, and were anxious that the Sultan should lay down that the eldest son should be accepted as heir-apparent.

The Powers had their way, and the Porte issued the necessary firman. The first step toward consolidation had been made.

Unfortunately, although many degrees more pre-

ferable than his father, Tewfik was far from being a great man. Also, he was deficient in education, and found this a continual obstacle throughout his life.

When he stepped into the shoes of his father, he found his country denuded of money. This horrified him, and it was always with reluctance that he spent money. This virtue became almost a vice. For a Khedive, he was parsimonious.

He had a curious negative streak in his make-up, and there was little in his personality that could excite enthusiasm. He took his duties with an immense seriousness, but when the moment came to assume responsibility he displayed often to an embarrassing degree the marked trait of shifting it to the shoulders of others. He had courage, but not the dashing bravado of his father. Yet, in this period of Egypt's history the most stupendous events were to be enacted, either within her own borders, or in the adjacent Sudan. There were to be mutinies in the Egyptian army, Alexandria was to be bombarded, and General Gordon was to be done to death at Khartoum.

Perhaps it is not altogether relevant to the narrative, but one incident connected with one of the mutinies of the Egyptian army gives a remarkable insight into the mentality of Fuad's brother.

Tewfik inherited great trouble with his officers. Within eighteen months of being Khedive he experienced one mutiny, and in order to placate the army, the Minister for War was dismissed. Pleased with its success, and by this time having a crop of fresh griev-

ances, the army mutinied again within six months. The officers who had taken part in the previous disorders, rightly or wrongly, had grave doubts respecting their personal safety. A strong rumour was current in army circles that they were to be quietly murdered. It is certain that police spies were continually in the precincts of the officers' quarters, though Tewfik always maintained that they were there merely to keep him informed of the trend of events.

For reasons of his own, Tewfik decided to transfer to Alexandria one of his regiments then stationed in Cairo.

Ahmed Arabi Bey, who was the prime mover behind all the army discontent, believed that this transfer was the prelude to his demise, and he induced the regiment, with others, to mutiny. Arabi Bey, with 2,500 men and no less than eighteen pieces of artillery, marched to the square in front of the Abdin Palace. It happened, however, that the Khedive was absent, and at the Ismailia Palace, less than half a mile away.

In this moment of stress, Tewfik turned to a great-hearted Englishman, Sir Auckland Colvin, who had already seen much service in India. Instinctively, Tewfik revolted from the assumption of authority, and refused to act on his own initiative.

"What shall I do?" pleaded Tewfik, and Sir Auckland told him.

There were two regiments in Cairo which still remained faithful, and he advised the Khedive to muster them, together with his police, place himself at their

head, and march to the Abdin Palace square and arrest Arabi Bey.

"But," retorted Tewfik, "the Bey has my artillery, as well as cavalry, and he might fire."

Sir Aukland told Tewfik that he had no alternative. Either he had to expose himself in the hope that he would overcome the mutineers by his own personality, or all was lost, and Egypt would soon have another Khedive.

There was not one of the Khedive's Egyptian advisers who would have dared to tell him this so plainly and baldly, but the moment was one for crispness of utterance, and a remorseless slicing through of those interminable preliminaries which Oriental custom and dicatates of courtesy requires should precede any statement of relevant fact.

The Khedive had a mutinous army camped in his palace square. Between positive and negative action, there was no compromise.

Sir Aukland induced Tewfik to accept his advice, and carriages were called. Tewfik and Sir Aukland first drove to the Abdin barracks, where the guard turned out and performed the accustomed honours. From there they proceeded to the Citadel where the troops there quartered had been in communication with the mutineers. The Khedive's prompt arrival was just in time to prevent a further accession of strength to Arabi Bey's forces.

Thus assured, Tewfik drove to the Abdin Palace, and entered by a side door, unseen by the troops who had taken up position in the square. Tewfik, in his

own apartments, allowed some of his flagging courage to ooze away, but Sir Aukland insisted that only one course remained open, and Tewfik agreed.

Accompanied by Sir Aukland, and by a small group of loyal Egyptian officers in the far distance, Tewfik emerged from the Abdin Palace and advanced firmly into the square of mutinous men. In the centre of the square was Arabi Bey, with a number of the discontented officers.

"What shall I do now?" whispered Tewfik.

"When Arabi Bey presents himself," replied Sir Aukland, "order him to hand over his sword. Then go round the square, address each regiment separately, and order dispersal."

Arabi, who was mounted, walked his horse toward the Khedive. Tewfik called upon him to dismount, and Arabi Bey obeyed.

He advanced on foot, with a number of officers at his heels, and a formidable guard with fixed bayonets. Arabi Bey saluted.

"Now!" whispered Sir Aukland, in an urgent whisper.

"But, we are between four fires," remonstrated Tewfik.

"Have courage," urged the other.

Tewfik turned aside, and spoke earnestly to an Egyptian officer whose advice, as might be surmised, was purely negative.

"What can I do?" demanded Tewfik, turning again to Sir Aukland with marked agitation. "We are between four fires, and we shall be killed."

"Act!" snapped Sir Aukland.

Tewfik drew himself up, and the trial of strength had come.

He ordered Arabi Bey to sheathe his sword, and the Bey complied.

So far, so good, but then Tewfik's firmness wilted.

Instead of forcing the issue, as he had been advised, and peremptorily informing the Bey that he was under arrest, he moved toward him, and said weakly: "What does this mean?"

The moment had been lost. Tewfik deliberately opened the floodgates of oratory, and Arabi Bey plunged into a spate of words.

"You hear what he says," remarked Tewfik in a pained tone to Sir Aukland.

The British officer replied that it was not fitting that the Khedive should thus discuss matters with colonels, and advised him to retire to his Palace. Tewfik did so, and in subsequent negotiations had materially to give way to the forces of subversion.

On this momentary act of weakness the majority of Tewfik's future difficulties found their foundation. The army had tried the Khedive, and found him wanting, and success went to its head.

CHAPTER TWO

ALEXANDRIA AND THE SUDAN

THE OFFICIAL RECORDS of events leading up to the bombardment of Alexandria would fill a large library. In point of fact, they do so.

Arabi Bey, after his victory over the Khedive, went from strength to strength, and the Egyptian military party fought for dominance under his leadership. He became Minister for War. He raised fresh regiments, increased the pay of all ranks without consulting the Treasury, and promoted hundreds of officers. In the provinces considerable disorganisation prevailed, and the army took the upper hand. The local inhabitants were attacked where and when the whim took the soldiery, and the value of land fell fast, because no one felt himself safe. The Western Powers, seriously alarmed by the state of the country, and by the danger to their wide interests, discussed the deposition of Tewfik and the substitution of Halim Pasha in his place. Nothing came of this.

In the interim, Arabi Bey was experiencing trouble with the Turkish officers in the Egyptian army. All the officers he had promoted were Egyptians, and the Turkish elements were disgruntled and ripe for mischief. A plot was discovered whereby a slave was to

put arsenic in the milk which Arabi Bey was wont to drink each night. Forty-eight persons, including the late Minister for War, were arrested, a secret court-martial was hurriedly convened, and forty, including the late Minister, were condemned to exile for life in the farthest confines of the then wild Sudan.

Just to complete the circle, and further to involve an already complicated situation, the Sultan of Turkey stepped in with a reminder that the Khedive was his Viceroy. He declared that the exiled Minister was a General of his own creation, and that he was not minded to have one of his high officers treated with contempt. He desired that the matter be referred to Constantinople.

Arabi Bey, much incensed, said that if the Porte cancelled the findings of the court-martial the cancellation would be ignored, and that if the Porte sent officers to inquire into the position they would be refused permission to land, and would be repulsed by force if they insisted on carrying out their mission.

The Khedive, caught up in the whirl of these conflicting forces, had to do something. He commuted the court-martial sentences. Those implicated were still to be exiled from Egypt, but they were not required to eke out a miserable existence in the Sudan. Arabi Bey was furious, fulminated, uttered threats against the Khedive personally, and against his family, and the breach between the Palace and the Ministry became complete. Arabi Bey gave it out that Tewfik was no loyal son of Egypt in that he had acted in a way to diminish the autonomy of his country. There

is not the slightest doubt that he was working for the deposition of Tewfik, and the exile of the Khedive's family.

In the turmoil thus created active and armed intervention on the part of Constantinople was a ripe possibility. The Sultan saw Egypt slipping from his fingers, and was likely to exert his authority. ¹

The Western Powers had no desire to see Egypt once again completely vassal to the Porte, and the suggestion that the Khedive be deposed was dropped, although it was recognised both in London and in Paris that had this course been taken at a much earlier date serious complications would have been avoided. To sustain the Khedive it was suggested that the Porte be requested to abstain from interference, and that an Anglo-French squadron be sent to Alexandria. This Anglo-French action caused no little heart-burning in the political doves of Rome, Vienna and elsewhere. Prince Fuad, in Italy, and later to be in Vienna, was made plainly to see that the British and the French were using his country for their own interests.

While preparations were being made to concentrate a fleet on Alexandria, the internal situation of Egypt continued to give the greatest disquiet. Steps were thereupon taken by the Anglo-French representatives to ensure the immediate departure from Egypt of Arabi Bey, and his principal lieutenants.

Egypt, as I have said, is a whispering gallery. No sooner was this matter mooted than it was known in the Muski. Rumour added its quota, and soon the

whole country was ringing with the news that all of Egypt's patriotic Ministers were to be exiled, the entire army was to be disbanded, all the officers on the army list were to be requested to leave the country, and Egypt was to be given over to foreign troops.

In the face of this Arabi Bey and his colleagues resigned, the Khedive agreed to certain conditions, and for the moment there was hope that the period of crisis had been passed. Any elation, however, was short-lived. The Khedive was told that unless he reinstated Arabi his life was not safe, and his position was essentially a painful one. He could not move a finger without incurring the displeasure, either of the Porte, of Great Britain, of France, or his own nationals.

His army, under the dominance of Arabi, was virtually a mutinous force, and the military party held undisputed sway, not only in the provinces, but in Cairo and Alexandria.

Again Tewfik was told that unless he reinstated Arabi and his colleagues he would die. He demurred, and expressed his intention of taking the air. He found that the guard at the Palace had been doubled and that the officer in command had had orders from the military party to confine him to the Palace and to fire on him if he attempted to force his way out.

Tewfik yielded, and Arabi was re-installed.

The Khedive had very little for which to thank France and Great Britain at this juncture. They told him what they would have him do, but afforded him the minimum of material support. They had engaged in activities which had aroused suspicion as to

their motives, not only in the mind of the Sultan, but especially in the Foreign Offices of Rome and Vienna. The Khedive had been induced to make a great stand to free himself from the dominance of his army, and the French and the British, instead of placing a sword in his hand when the moment came for battle, contented themselves with offering him a pen.

Yes, it was clear, that if Egypt was not to revert to anarchy, Arabi Bey would have to be taught reason by force of arms.

Life in the East is built upon, and regulated by, signs and portents. The Egyptians saw in the reinstatement of Arabi a sure indication of the reversal of the forces of the West. Instead of Arabi, and his recalcitrant officers, all Europeans were to be expelled, the days of Abbas were to return, Egypt was to laugh at the Ferenghi when they asked for the money they had loaned, and the great day of Opportunism had arrived.

Such was the feeling, that Europeans hurriedly left the interior, and British residents at Cairo and Alexandria urgently represented to their Government the need for immediate protection if their lives were not to be endangered.

The officers of the Egyptian army were signing a petition for the deposition of Tewfik, all business was at a standstill, and the air was electrical.

In Alexandria the youths were parading the streets crying: "O brothers, come and help us kill the Ferunghis," and the people spat in the faces of every European they passed.

On June 11, 1882, there was the spark, and riots broke out in three places in Alexandria. In circumstances of the most revolting brutality, some fifty Europeans were butchered in cold blood. Many others were severely wounded, and still more had the narrowest of escapes.

Negotiations were carried on for a month, during which time 14,000 Christians had fled the country, and some 6,000 more were at the ports anxiously scanning the horizon for the coming of ships which would transport them from the troubled land of the Pharaohs. Massacres of Christians continued, and a British fleet which had anchored off Alexandria did nothing, because its gun-barrels were choked with the dust and cobwebs of diplomacy.

It was learned that the military, or Nationalist party as it was now being called, were erecting batteries on the Alexandria shore for the purpose of sinking a fleet which appeared to be nothing more than an ornament. The Khedive was approached, and he ordered work on the batteries to cease. The order was obeyed, but only during the hours of daylight. Mysteriously, the work progressed during each period of darkness.

The patience of the British had reached breaking point, and at 7 a.m. on June 11, 1882, the *Invincible* and the *Alexandra* each fired a shell into the battery earthworks at a point near the hospital. There were other earthworks, and a general signal followed to the fleet, ordering complete demolition. The shore batteries replied, but by evening the Egyptian guns had

been silenced and the garrison retreated, first setting fire to the town which was pillaged as the soldiery retired.

More Europeans were murdered in the general rioting, and British marines were landed. Britain had at last assumed an assumption of authority in the Egyptian question.

British opinion was thoroughly aroused by the events in Egypt and Mr. Gladstone announced in the House of Commons:

“We feel that we should not fully discharge our duty if we did not endeavour to convert the present interior state of Egypt from anarchy and conflict to peace and order. . . . We shall look for the co-operation of the Powers . . . if every chance of obtaining co-operation is exhausted, the work will be undertaken by the single power of England.”

While Mr. Gladstone was saying this, Arabi Bey retired but a few miles from Alexandria where he issued a proclamation, declaring that “irreconcilable war existed between the Egyptians and the English”.

Complete anarchy reigned in the provinces, a number of towns were plundered, and more Europeans were murdered. The British Government ordered 15,000 men to proceed from Cyprus and Malta and a further 5,000 from India, and Lord Wolseley was placed in command of this force “to support the authority of the Khedive”. In other words, tired of the ceaseless round of futile negotiation which had characterised the *pourparlers* with other Powers, England acted alone, and crushed the rebellion.

France, for her part, would have the British pay the cost of preserving her interests. She declared that she would abstain from any operation in Egypt which was not for the purpose of repelling a direct act of aggression, and therefore, the British troops could not count on French co-operation. The Austrians replied much in the same strain.

Italy, which was burning with jealousy because of what was transpiring in Egypt, refused also to aid British arms. Italy's motive in keeping out of Egypt may seem strange in the face of her restless ambitions and her strong desire to expand her influence along the Mediterranean, but in point of fact she was not prepared, either from a naval or a military point of view, to engage in any kind of prolonged hostilities. Italy was to wait thirty years for her chance and for the time when she could afford to ignore the possibility of a collision with France and Great Britain.

The Porte, in order that Great Britain should not forget that British troops were being poured into Turkish territory, made the suggestion that Tewfik be deposed and Halim Pasha elevated in his place. This course, the Porte pleaded, would obviate bloodshed. But the situation had drifted too far, and Mr. Gladstone and his Cabinet refused to entertain the proposal. In accordance with his desire to secure co-operation, however, Mr. Gladstone invited the Sultan to send troops to Egypt to assist in the pacification of the country, but this was contingent upon the Sultan issuing a proclamation characterising Arabi Bey as a rebel.

Preparations were actually made for the despatch to Egypt of 5,000 troops, but the Sultan neither issued the proclamation nor would he agree to the terms of a military convention which would indicate the manner in which all troops were to be employed.

Negotiations in respect to these two points were protracted and became so laboured that at one period Lord Dufferin had to inform the Sultan that unless a proclamation was issued and the military convention signed, the Ottoman troops would not be allowed to land. The Admiral commanding the British fleet at Alexandria was instructed to approach any Turkish troopships which might appear and to indicate to the commanders, "with the utmost courtesy," that the appearance of Turkish troops off the Egyptian coast must be due to some misunderstanding, and at least premature. The Admiral was further to request any Turkish transports, still with the same courtesy, to proceed to Crete, "or elsewhere," and seek fresh instructions.

Had such a course been necessary, the British Navy might have presented an amusing interlude. History robbed some great painter of a magnificent opportunity to present a British Admiral, "with the utmost courtesy," requesting Turkish troopships to proceed to Crete, "or elsewhere," for while the negotiations with the Porte were dragging on, the battle of Tel-el-Kebir was fought, and Turkish participation became unnecessary.

Lord Wolseley had arrived in Alexandria on August 18, 1882. He decided to advance on Cairo via Is-

mailia, on the Suez Canal, the home of the men who pilot the ships through this great waterway.

Lord Wolseley moved on the Canal, and seized it, refusing to listen to the protests of M. de Lesseps, and on September 13 he met the rebel Egyptian army at Tel-el-Kebir. Arabi Bey was in the field, but he did not attempt to command the rebel forces. He emulated the Duke of Plazatoto, and the rebels were utterly routed. Immediately after the battle, he and his associates surrendered.

Major Watson of the Royal Engineers, with two squadrons of the 4th Dragoon Guards and a small force of mounted infantry, thrust forward to Cairo, and the capital fell to this absurdly insignificant "invader" without a blow being struck.

Fuad, in Rome, saw the British sitting astride the Nile. There were rapid changes being made in Egypt.

The British have been blamed times without number because they failed, in 1882, and on many occasions subsequently, to declare a Protectorate. Unfortunately or otherwise, whatever may be the point of view, the British said that they were in Egypt for the good of the country, and that when order had been brought out of chaos, British troops would be withdrawn. That, roughly, was the spirit which actuated the British occupation.

At this time a weak character such as Tewfik was, in the Sudan, endeavouring to rule over a realm twice as large as France and Germany. His authority nominally held sway over the area bounded by Wadi

Halfa on the north and the Equator, some thirteen hundred miles to the south. Massawa was the limit on the east, and Darfour province on the west, another distance of thirteen hundred miles.

Here ruin was fast approaching. Irrigation was neglected and vast tracts of land were going out of cultivation, the inhabitants were at the mercy of bullying tax-collectors, and the Arab slave-traders strutted through the country, burning, murdering and pillaging, and carrying out their foul trade with human merchandise.

It is an axiom amongst some Arabic speaking peoples, that at an unspecified time a Mahdi will appear. On his coming, Isa (Jesus) will descend from the Heavens and join himself with the Mahdi, when the whole world will be converted to the Mohammedan religion.

Egypt and the Sudan has been a fruitful field for Mahdis. Ismail, Tewfik's father, had to contend with one, and he and his followers were put to death. In the year prior to the British occupation, and the events just enumerated, one Mohamed Ahmed proclaimed himself Mahdi in the Sudan. The son of poor parents, he abandoned all pretence to making a livelihood, and he devoted his entire energies to the study of religion in Khartoum. When he blossomed forth in his guise as leader of the Sunis, he declared that he would first subdue the Sudan, then over-run Egypt, and from there extend his activities to the entire world. The people, because of their hatred of all things Egyptian, flocked to his banner, and when the British marched

into Cairo, a formidable rebellion was already in progress down the Nile. The Sudanese had had one or two brushes with Egyptian troops sent against them, and had been victorious on each occasion. One cannot altogether blame the Egyptian soldiery for their bad record. They had no sympathy with Tewfik who was the man who held back their pay. Their man was Arabi Bey, who at least increased their emoluments even if he had not the means to satisfy them. Also, on an average, about one in twenty had been instructed in the use of a rifle, and when it came to drill and tactical evolutions, the entire army was unable to distinguish its left from its right.

Accordingly, in 1883, a year after the British occupation, a number of British officers, including General Hicks, were despatched to the Sudan to provide a stiffening for the Egyptian forces, but at the end of the same year General Hicks had to report that, the treasury being empty, the army was unpaid, it was practically disloyal, and was worthless as a fighting machine as it was untrained and undisciplined.

Meanwhile the Mahdi was making considerable progress in his plans. Great stretches of the Sudan were in open rebellion, and he was the master.

General Hicks made repeated requests to the Khedive in Cairo to augment the material at his disposal, but Tewfik was unable to comply. He was powerless to provide the requisite resources necessary to quell the rebellion. Matters drifted on until Egyptian authority entirely collapsed in the Sudan. The British Government, extremely anxious not to be

drawn into military commitments in the Sudan, held aloof.

The Egyptian Government, notwithstanding the poor material at the disposal of General Hicks, ordered him to try conclusions with the Mahdi in his own province of Kordofan, and on September 8, 1883, the General started out on an expedition which was to prove fatal. The country in which General Hicks was required to operate was practically unknown. All that was clear was that it was the driest in the Sudan. General Hicks was led astray by guides in the depths of a forest south of El Obeid, and by this time the men were almost mad with thirst. It was a sorry force which was suddenly called upon to meet the attack of a Dervish horde. Sufficient is it to state that the entire force was massacred. General Hicks led his thirst-mad men in a final charge, and died fighting. It is one of the ironies of fate that but a mile from the scene of this battlefield was a large pool, of the presence of which the column had remained in entire ignorance. When the Dervishes fell upon the force the majority of the men had been without water for more than four days, and hundreds had died of thirst.

Matters went from bad to worse in the Sudan. The Egyptians were defeated with great loss at Tamanieb, Dara fell, and the entire province of Darfour passed into the hands of the Mahdi, another reverse was registered at El Teb, and the Sinkat garrison was annihilated.

The Khedive was for abandoning the Sudan to its fate as he could not hold it, and in this the British

Government concurred. It was at this time (the early part of 1884) that it was decided to send General Gordon to the Sudan with instructions to report to the British Government on the military situation there. Later these orders were amended before General Gordon left England, and he was required to supervise the evacuation of the Sudan. General Gordon was a highly popular figure, and he embarked on an exceedingly perilous mission. As Lord Cromer points out, it was the object of the British Government to avoid being drawn into military operations in the Sudan, yet a highly distinguished British General was asked to proceed to Khartoum which months earlier had been reported as cut off from all supplies and as incapable of holding out if beleaguered by the forces of the Mahdi.

General Gordon entered the Sudan convinced that he would carry out the evacuation in two or three months. As the world knows, he went to his death. Actually, his optimism was such that he described Khartoum as being as safe as Kensington Park. That was two days after he arrived in the place. He took with him two proclamations, one of which declared that the Egyptian Government had decided to withdraw her troops from the Sudan and the other that General Gordon had been appointed as Governor-General. It was considered that the first of the proclamations should only be made public when the work of evacuation had been advanced, but Gordon believed that he would have a better chance of withdrawing the troops from the country if the people were assured

of their independence. He followed his own inclinations. In this, he may or may not have been right. In any event, the intention of the Egyptian Government to abandon the country was known before General Gordon reached Khartoum on February 18, 1884.

His intentions were to hand over the country to the local sultans, but it was soon borne upon him that there were none to whom he could delegate authority. Then he proposed to set up a notable as an anti-Mahdi, and to this hope he clung tenaciously to the end. Once he entered the Sudan, his dearest desire was not to evacuate, but to smash the Mahdi although he was told, in unmistakable language, that it must "be fully understood that the Egyptian troops must not be kept in the Sudan merely with a view to consolidate the power of the new rulers". •

Again, he was ordered to evacuate the Sudan. The various garrisons were scattered, and it was inevitable that some must be abandoned to make the best of their way out. General Gordon, however, perhaps quite rightly, construed his orders as instructions to evacuate every soldier in the country, notwithstanding the position of peril or difficulty in which he might be.

On November 19, 1884, he wrote: "I will not leave the Sudan until every one who wants to go down (the Nile) is given the chance to do so . . . and if any emissary or letter comes up here ordering me to come down, I will not obey it, but will stay here and fall with the town and run all risks."

On October 1 he wrote: "I think I am bound to extricate the garrisons whatever it costs."

Long before that, on May 26, Berber fell into the hands of the Dervishes. That rendered retreat from Khartoum by land impossible, the one communication being the waters of the Nile.

With all regular communication with General Gordon cut off, there followed several agonising months of indecision, and it was not until the end of August that it was decided to send a relief expedition.

In the interim, unsuccessful efforts were made to get through runners to Gordon, it being emphasised in these that the British Government could not countenance aggressive measures. He was asked to take all steps to evacuate himself, and the Egyptians who had rendered him service, from Khartoum, by any route which he might consider feasible.

On August 18, telegraphic communication with Gordon having been restored, he was told that measures were being taken to relieve him. Ten days later, a letter was received from him, dated July 13, in which he said that all was well, and that he could hold out for four months.

In many of the messages which percolated through to Gordon, he was asked why he remained in Khartoum, but it was not until a letter dated July 31 was eventually received in Cairo that General Gordon indicated: "You ask me to state cause and intention in staying in Khartoum knowing Government means to abandon the Sudan, and in answer I say, I stay at Khartoum because the Arabs have shut us up and will not let us out."

In a subsequent telegram addressed to the Khedive,

Gordon complained that the British Government did not divulge its intentions in its messages, and only asked for information, and thereby wasted time.

"It will be impossible to leave Khartoum without a regular Government established by some Power," he added.

It was in the early days of April that Lord Cromer, then in Cairo, urged upon the British Government to prepare for an expedition to proceed to the relief of Gordon. Lord Wolseley joined him in this, and discussed the composition of the force which would be desirable to accomplish this purpose. As has been indicated, however, many months passed before anything tangible was done.

For the British Government, it can be said that General Gordon took little notice of the questions which were addressed to him, and that little was known of the condition of affairs in the Sudan other than rumour. Berber, for instance, fell into the hands of the Dervishes on May 26. It was not until June 27 that Cairo knew of this reverse as an actual fact.

Even in August, when the British Parliament voted a credit of £800,000 for the purpose of a relief expedition, the British Government was not fully convinced that it would be necessary to expend the money.

At a date later than this, it was announced that "Her Majesty's Government are not at present convinced that it will be impossible for General Gordon, acting on the instructions he has received, to secure the withdrawal from Khartoum, either by the em-

ployment of force, or of pacific means, of the Egyptian garrisons, and of such of the inhabitants as may desire to leave".

However, on August 26, Lord Wolseley was officially appointed to command the relief expedition, and he made his preparations which were cramped by the declaration, made on September 17, that "the Government desires to remind you that no decision has been reached to send any portion of the force under your command beyond Dongola. You know how averse they are to undertake any warlike expedition not called for by absolute necessity".

It was not until five months after communications with General Gordon had first been interrupted that Lord Wolseley was informed that the primary object of the expedition up the valley of the Nile was to bring away General Gordon. It was emphasised, that when that object had been secured, no offensive operations of any kind were to be undertaken.

It was intimated to Lord Wolseley that an advance upon Khartoum was not absolutely precluded should military considerations demand this for the retreat of General Gordon from that town, but that the Government were desirous of limiting the sphere of military operations as much as possible.

General Gordon's principal aide-de-camp was Colonel Stewart. On September 10, this brave officer, and a party of over forty, left Khartoum in a steamer with instructions to tell the authorities of the true position in the Sudan. The steamer sailed by Berber unscathed, and Colonel Stewart was congratulating

himself that the worst was over when the vessel struck a rock, and was disabled. Colonel Stewart was forced to land, and those with him, and he was murdered while taking shelter in a hamlet.

In the meantime, General Wolseley was doing his utmost to give mobility to the force under his command, but he had to pass over great stretches of desert where water was at a premium where it was not non-existent, and his difficulties of supply and transport were such that only time could solve them. He could not just ride to the head of his men, and give the order to march. News came through from Khartoum that the town was running short of supplies, and it was decided to split Lord Wolseley's column, one section to follow the Nile, and the other to advance by the desert route.

On the last day but one in 1884, a message was received from Gordon in his own handwriting in which he stated: ". . . the food we still have is little, some grain and biscuit. . . . We want you to come quickly."

The force taking the desert route, under Sir Herbert Stewart, left the same day. On January 16 the force bivouacked less than four miles from the wells of Abu Klea which were occupied by the Dervishes in force. On the following morning, the relieving column advanced in the old-fashioned square, and a most sanguinary battle took place in which both officers and men were locked with the Dervishes in hand-to-hand combat. When the Dervishes retired, they left over 1,100 dead in the immediate vicinity of the square,

and of the 1,600 troops comprising the column 170 were either killed or grievously wounded.

After licking its wounds, Sir Herbert's force continued its march, and on the evening of the 18th came in sight of the Nile. Dervishes held the banks, and Sir Herbert Stewart was killed in the long-range fighting which ensued.

On the morning of the 20th, the force reached Gabat where four steamers which had been despatched by General Gordon from Khartoum, were awaiting it. Rapid arrangements were made to send a part of the column by two of the steamers, but it was not until the 24th that they left. They carried both British and Sudanese troops. On the 25th, one of the steamers struck a rock, and that occasioned a delay of twenty-four hours. The voyage was carried out under continual fire from the banks of the river, and on the afternoon of the 27th the column heard the first rumours of Khartoum's fall. A man on the bank shouted out derisively that the British soldiers were too few and that the British General was dead. The story was not believed, and the steamers churned steadily on, in the hope of reaching Khartoum on the evening of the 28th. Eventually, look-outs could see Government House. Glasses were levelled, but there was no sign of the Egyptian flag. As the steamers grew nearer it was seen that buildings near Government House were in ruins, and that the Dervishes were in possession.

The rescuers were too late, and a great British figure had passed.

Shot had been falling into Khartoum, and the defenders had been eating the dogs, the donkeys, and even the skins of the animals they flayed. Many died of hunger, and the rest were too weak to bury the corpses.

General Gordon's great anxieties had turned his hair white. The people of the town no longer believed him when he told them that the British were coming.

When the Dervishes learned that the steamers were coming, they redoubled their offensive, and while the relieving force was yet making good the damage done by one of the vessels striking a rock, pressed home a general attack upon the discouraged and enfeebled garrison.

The Dervishes reached Government House, and General Gordon, attired in his white uniform, stood in front of his office. He disdained to use either his sword or his revolver. He remained calm and defiant. The Dervishes rushed upon him, and he was pierced with spear thrusts. His murderer was Sheik Mohamed Nebawi, who was subsequently killed in the battle of Omdurman.

The Nile expedition, if it was to relieve a brave soldier, had been sanctioned too late.

CHAPTER THREE

PRINCE FUAD RETURNS TO EGYPT

THE WORLD was rocked with the dramatic story of General Gordon's death and of the adventures of the Nile expedition, but in actual fact they were mere episodes in the long history of Egypt and the Sudan. They were, however, to have far-reaching results in the end.

When Khartoum fell, the British Government decided to deal a decisive blow at the Mahdi, but they eventually abandoned the plan because they saw it as an adventure in a remote country to which no one could see the end. It fell back upon its original scheme of withdrawal, though in point of fact, effectual evacuation was never a *fait accompli*. Of the total of 55,000 men comprising the Egyptian garrisons, some 12,000 were killed and 30,000 remained in the Sudan to make the best of a sorry situation. The soldiers who returned numbered less than 11,000. In addition some 5,000 Egyptian civilians, including women and children, were abandoned.

If the British policy was one of evacuation, the story is not one which makes a bright page in British history. On June 22, 1885, the Mahdi did the British and Egyptian cause a great service by dying with

extreme suddenness. His demise greatly discouraged his followers, and Abdullah-el-Taashi, who took his place and styled himself Khalifa, had not the Mahdi's presence. He declared he would carry out the Madhi's original intention of invading Egypt, but in December of the same year he met a combined British and Egyptian force and sustained a severe defeat. For the moment, all thought of a serious Dervish invasion of Egypt could be set on one side.

The Egyptian collapse in the Sudan was, however, complete, and as the British Government would not countenance operations on a scale sufficient to hold the country, Prince Fuad, from his exile in Italy, saw a vast portion of his brother's territories handed over to the vagaries of Fate.

Those places remote from reach relapsed into utter barbarism. Some near the coasts were seized upon avidly by those European Powers who got there first. There was inaugurated the scramble for Africa which had some of the more unpleasant features of the rush for Klondyke.

In the eastern Sudan, for instance, Kassala was seized by the Italians, but it was later to be evacuated and to become part of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. In return for assisting in the evacuation of the Egyptian garrisons on his border, King John of Abyssinia was ceded the province of Bogos, which he had long coveted.

The British Government thought that they would like Berera on the Somali coast, and planted the Union Jack there. One of the principal keys to the Red Sea,

a great many Powers had cast eyes upon it, but the British warships got there first. Harrar was handed over to Abdullah, but the newly installed Emir could not hold the place, and within a very short time he was attacked and dispossessed by the famous or infamous King Menelek. At Zeyla, other eyes were concentrated. The British told the Porte, in whose nominal possession it was, that it was vital that it should despatch troops there to preserve order. The Porte, as usual, did nothing, and Zeyla became British.

The Italians, not to be outdone—for some years previously they had established themselves at Assab Bay—rushed impetuously into Massawa. In this instance, the Porte was especially indignant, and every Foreign Office in Europe was bombarded with Constantinople's protest. The principal Powers, however, were too busily engaged in consolidating their own possessions to pay much heed to protests. Besides, perhaps they had reasons.

The French too were in the scramble, and the only people who gained nothing were the Egyptians, who were fighting their way out of the country. Of course, the territorial loss was really that of the Sultan of Turkey, but as his sway over the Egyptians was now mainly nominal, it was in fact the Egyptians who suffered.

British participation, as far as it went at this time, was confined to action which made for the defence of Egypt itself.

Gradually, however, force of circumstances forced Lord Salisbury, who had succeeded Mr. Gladstone, to

extend the sphere of British operations, and a determined effort was made to pacify the Sudan in the limits now roughly defined by the present frontiers of the country. Following the evacuation of the Sudan, the British were concerned, with the Egyptians, in three major military events. Toward the end of 1888 the Dervishes were routed at Suakin. In August of the following year another great battle took place at Toski. This had the effect of restoring order to the Nile Valley, for with this defeat the power of the Dervishes as an aggressive force was broken. With a further Dervish rout at Tokar in the early part of 1891, the province of Tokar was reoccupied, and the greater part of the eastern section of Sudan once more came under the dominance of Cairo.

Reconquest of the Sudan was imperative—not so much because a terrain of vast extent had been allowed to revert to the derelict, but some thought that British honour was touched.

With an amazing sense of fortitude, and a conviction that eventually something must be done, the British Government set itself to the task of rehabilitating a shattered Egypt. When Egypt was ready, when morale had been grafted on to its army, and when there was a sufficient flow into the national coffers, this something was done. A British officer of the Royal Engineers, who had mapped out large parts of Egypt and Palestine as a Lieutenant, was appointed Sirdar of the Egyptian army. He had already fought in the Sudan, and he was young, energetic, and extremely masterful. This was Sir Herbert Kitchener. He did

valiant work, and he was uniformly successful because he left nothing to chance. He saw everything with his own eyes, and retained as much control as was possible in his own hands. He attended to every detail of the military machine, and in the Khartoum campaign, with Egyptian troops, this was a wise precaution. In a subsequent and much larger conflict, this repugnance on the part of Kitchener to delegate authority to others, became the subject of criticism.

With the Khalifa checked, but still a thorn in the flesh of the Sudan, the Khedive Tewfik died on January 7, 1892.

His son, Abbas Hilmi II, then a young man of eighteen, was his successor. Somewhat bewildered by his sudden elevation, and having in his very early days taken a violent dislike to Lord Cromer and most things British, he turned to his Uncle Fuad for support. Prince Fuad was then twenty-four. There was not a remarkable disparity in the ages of the pair, but it was sufficient to create a vast difference in outlook.

Abbas II invited Prince Fuad to leave Vienna, and he offered him the command of a division of the Egyptian army with the rank of General. Prince Fuad accepted the offer, and returned to Cairo.

In the firman appointing Abbas II as successor to Tewfik, his relations with the Porte were carefully noted. It was laid down that under strict restrictions, the civil and financial administrations of Egypt were confided in Abbas II and his male descendants. It was emphasised, however, that all Egyptians were Ottoman subjects, and that taxes were to be levied in

the name of the Sultan. There could, therefore, be no question of a separate Egyptian State, or a separate Egyptian nationality.

It was assumed that the Khedive had no right to make political treaties with foreign States, and that when the European States met in conference, Egypt would be represented by an Ottoman delegate.

In respect to Egypt itself, Prince Fuad returned to find the constitutional position much as when he had left it. True, British troops had landed, but the assumption was, in the absence of any declaration of annexation or of regarding Egypt as a dependency, that this control would be lifted when Egypt had been restored to financial and political health.

As we have seen, however, the condition of the Sudan was vastly altered. Large areas had been permanently lost. The last dice in the dangerous game of bringing what was left under subjection had still to be thrown. It was not until 1898 that the severe fighting ensued which finally broke the power of the Dervishes. Kitchener concentrated a force of some 22,000 men about forty miles south of Khartoum, and the long expected battle between the might of Sir Herbert and that of the Dervishes, was fought under the walls of Omdurman on September 2.

The Dervishes, massed many thousands strong, and greatly outnumbering Kitchener's force, displayed little tactical skill. They advanced and dashed headlong at the Anglo-Egyptian forces and were mowed down by the Maxims and the rapid rifle fire of Kitchener's now well-trained troops.

In the midst of the great horde which flung itself so courageously against the British and Egyptian ranks was the black and green flag of Mahdiism. Around this thousands upon thousands died in a futile endeavour. As one line was swept away under the remorseless fire of modern weapons, another took its place, and before the Dervish army of 50,000 broke, no less than 11,000 had been killed and 16,000 wounded.

The actual fighting was encompassed in a period of a few hours, so that the battle of Omdurman must be regarded as one of the most bloody in the world's history. The losses of the Dervishes were astonishing, and quite disproportionate to that sustained by Kitchener's forces. In the British ranks nine officers and 122 men were killed or wounded, and in those of the Egyptians, nine officers and 241 men.

That afternoon Omdurman was entered, and the British and Egyptian flags were hoisted over the last stronghold of Mahdiism. Two days later the same ceremony was performed in Khartoum. Thirteen years had passed since the death of General Gordon, and the avenging of his death was received with the most tremendous enthusiasm and elation in England.

Even in that terrible hour for the Mahdi cause, however, the Khalifa escaped, and he broke away with a considerable following. He wandered about in the wilds for over a year, and in places beyond the striking distance of an organised force. In November, 1899, he approached the Nile, and Sir Reginald Wingate, who had succeeded Kitchener as Sirdar of the Egyptian

army, made a series of swift marches and surprised him. The Khalifa and his principal lieutenants were killed. The Sudan was pacified.

A subtle, yet distinct change was to come about in Anglo-Egyptian relations. If in Egypt, the *status quo* was to be more or less maintained, in the Sudan, Egypt and Great Britain were to enter into a close partnership which still obtains.

Egyptian mismanagement had resulted in the complete loss of the Sudan. Almost had it produced complete anarchy in Egypt itself. The British stepped in, and assisted Egypt in her laborious climb back to recovery, and to that sense of well-being when the reconquest of the Sudan could be contemplated. In the reconquest of the Sudan, the British had taken the major part. Without Great Britain, Egypt could never have defeated the Dervishes. Indeed, so parlous was her condition, that she could not have kept them out of Egypt. Annexation of the Sudan in the name of Great Britain might have been justifiable in the circumstances, but the Sudan campaign had been conducted in the name of the Khedive, and the Egyptian treasury had borne the greater proportion of the cost.

It was, therefore, decided to make out a valid title to the exercise of the sovereign rights of the Queen of England and the Khedive of Egypt in the Sudan. In the agreement of 1899 the claims of the Porte to the territory were swept away, and Great Britain became the senior partner in the limited company which was to rule this immense country.

There were, of course, Egyptians who spoke bitterly against this arrangement. They declared that the Sudan campaign had been carried out on behalf of Egypt, and that Egypt was being despoiled of its rightful dues in having to share sovereignty over the Sudan with Great Britain. In Egypt itself, there was also great conflict of opinion. After the march into Cairo and Alexandria, the British Government had not annexed, but declared that they would devote themselves to reconditioning the country. Egyptians, assured that their country had not been annexed, found it difficult to perceive any difference between British policy in practice, and full-fledged British Sovereignty. It was said that full liberty of action would be given to the Khedive, but as the British insisted on the Khedive and his Ministers conforming with their views, the Egyptians were sorely troubled when they endeavoured to ally British policy with its actual practice.

Prince Fuad returned to an Egypt torn asunder with political discontent, and to a court circle where one had either to be with the Khedive Abbas II, or against him. Fuad's nephew was young, thrustful, impulsive, and resentful of British tutelage. Internal politics were gyroscopic, and to be in the shadow of Abbas II was to be a factionist.

Prince Fuad found himself in a position of considerable difficulty. He had followed his father into exile, and some of the ignominy which attached itself to Ismail descended upon his shoulders. There were many in the Palace coterie who regarded his presence

in Cairo with the deepest suspicion. Always was he being required to listen to the pleadings of this faction, or the hectoring demands of that.

His position as his nephew's principal aide-de-camp was more than invidious. Often it was galling and humiliating; always was it dangerous.

For three years—from 1892 to 1895, he sought desperately to follow the course of discretion, but the strain proved to be too great. He resolved, quite suddenly, that he would have nothing further to do with Egypt's highly involved and inflammable politics, and he resigned all his offices, and appeared before the world as a private individual.

Accounts of Fuad's break with Abbas II are many, but the majority of them are apocryphal. Fuad, of course, had had the advantage of foreign travel which had enlarged his outlook and had tempered his views, if not his temper. His nephew had invited him to leave Europe, where he had won the goodwill of the Sultan, and to come to the Khedival court to give Abbas the benefit of his advice.

Fuad gave advice, but it was never followed. As an aide-de-camp, and a close relative of the Khedive, he expected a certain authority to be delegated to him. On paper, it was. In effect, it was not, for Fuad had only to make a decision and a large disgruntled element would make for the Palace, obtain the ear of Abbas, and the order would be countermanded.

Both Abbas and Fuad were young, but one was younger than the other. Fuad could not but look upon his headstrong nephew as an adolescent boy, and the

final quarrel came when he put his opinion into words.

When Prince Fuad, at the height of a wordy battle, resigned from all his posts, Abbas calmed, and did his utmost to induce his uncle to reconsider his position. Notwithstanding the strained relations between the two, Abbas knew the value of having at his right hand someone who understood European temperament so well. Prince Fuad, however, remained adamant.

He told Abbas that he could not afford to be whirled up into the incessant political storms which broke over the Palace, and that he would prefer to devote his energies to channels where his motives would not be misunderstood.

In adopting this stand, Prince Fuad was undoubtedly right. At that time he had not the slightest chance of becoming King of Egypt, and the farther he receded from politics the more secure would be his position.

From that time, until 1917, he remained aloof, the exception, if it can be termed an exception, being in 1911, when he accompanied Abbas on a journey to Italy.

It was natural that Fuad should accompany the Khedive because his knowledge of the country and his cordial relations with the House of Savoy and with many Italian statesmen, made him especially valuable.

When Abbas met King Emmanuel at Racconigi, a specially friendly welcome was extended. Emmanuel had not forgotten the young Egyptian Prince Fuad who had served in his Rome garrison as a lieutenant.

Abbas was well pleased with his reception, for he relied to a great extent upon his goodwill in Italy in his gambits with the British Government, and he encouraged Prince Fuad to consolidate the connection.

Prince Fuad also highly valued his liaison with the Italian court, but he was to put it to the test two years later, and find it wanting in collective weight.

While on his European tour with his nephew, Prince Fuad was introduced to a noted astrologer who had made a number of very remarkable predictions.

The astrologer assured Fuad, in all earnestness, that he would die a monarch. Nothing seemed more remote at that time, but astrologers exercise a curious fascination over the minds of Easterns, and Fuad was impressed. He never forgot the words of the seer, and in 1913, it seemed that he was to see their fulfilment.

In the diplomatic upheaval which followed the two consecutive wars in the Balkans, it was remembered that in Prince Fuad there was ready to hand a direct descendant of the great Mohamed Ali, the founder of the Khedival dynasty, and a son of troubled Albania.

The suggestion was made that Prince Fuad should accept the vacant throne of Albania. Fuad, who had always evinced a great interest in Albanian affairs, considered that his double bond of origin and religion marked him out for kingship, and he made no secret of the fact that were he invited to Albania, he would accept the crown. He did not become one of the official aspirants to the honour, as he relied almost entirely upon his ties with the country and upon Italian backing. He believed that these forces would

be sufficient to assure his purpose. They were not, and Prince Fuad was unsuccessful. For many years, he remained a very disappointed man.

Fuad, who had great stores of energy, threw himself into a wide variety of interests connected with the development of the intellectual and scientific institutions of Egypt. Prince Fuad liked the control which this display of energy gave him, but he did not greatly relish the routine which was necessary if the institutions which he championed were to be successful. Often these languished. Frequently, he gave an exhibition of temper, and one suddenly died, and there were those who said that a Prince so impulsive could never be marked out for an exalted station.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRE-WAR INTERESTS

LORD MILNER, WHO ISSUED a book in 1892, the year Prince Fuad returned to Egypt from his exile, said in respect to Egyptian education: "I attach much more importance in the immediate future of Egypt to the improvement and character of the official class than I do to the development of the Representative Institutions."

Prince Fuad returned to find the educational system in his country in a truly chaotic condition. That which was entirely religious in aspect, and lacked vigour. The beginning and end of all was an ability to read the Koran and recite it at length.

Prince Fuad had seen the Universities in Italy and in Austria, and he saw that the learning of the West had but a feeble echo in his own country.

Everyone talked about education, but no one did anything. Prince Fuad made a study of the subject as soon as he rid himself of his official posts, and recognised that the system which went under the guise of education in Egypt was too narrow in concept. He tried to impress upon his countrymen that there were other exalted fountains of truth and other lofty branches of knowledge to be found without the narrow limits of religious law books.

Prince Fuad found that the vast majority of Egyptians were averse to paying money for the education of their sons. And the Pashas—the majority of them—were too ignorant themselves of learning to realise that in education was to be found the real road to progress. The Pashas, in all things anti-European, regarded education with more than a little distrust and suspicion.

Prince Fuad had to break down many barriers, but at the inception of any project, he was keen, and despite much dissentient opinion and the efforts of many to sabotage his schemes, Prince Fuad issued an appeal for funds in 1906 with which to establish an Egyptian University.

It cannot be said that the response was enthusiastic. It took two years for the fund to achieve £20,000. However, in 1908, the University was recognised as an institution, and Prince Fuad became President-Rector.

Prince Fuad, because of his foreign connections, had contrived a library of some 15,000 volumes. Each book had constituted a gift, and the collection had to be regarded in the light of a triumph over considerable difficulties.

Professors from the leading Faculties in Europe were induced to attend the University in Cairo, and to deliver courses of lectures, and at the personal request of King Fuad, the Ministries of Public Instruction in France and Italy opened the doors of their secondary schools to young Egyptian students who had been selected and approved by the Cairo University.

Prince Fuad himself discharged much of the expenses attaching to these visits from his own purse.

The fact that Prince Fuad had to dip so deeply into his own pocket to support the institution to which his enthusiasm had given birth demonstrates how lacking was material support from Egyptians themselves. Also, there arose a number of "private schools" where the fees were specially kept low in order to attract pupils. The standard of education at these institutions was deplorably low as a consequence.

The truth underlying the poor success which was attained by the University in its early years was the lack, not so much of public, but of official support. Prince Fuad, with very meagre material, endeavoured to evolve a scholastic edifice which should have received large grants from the State to carry it over its period of infancy.

It will have been noticed that the secondary schools of France and Italy opened their doors to Egyptian students, and that those of a Power vitally interested in Egypt did not similarly reciprocate. Actually, of course, both French and Italians were hostile to the presence of the British in Egypt, and they welcomed young Egyptians who could be gratuitously educated into an anti-British point of view.

The British, in reply to the charges which have been made against them in respect to their alleged lethargy in the matter of Egyptian education, declare that the general trend of their policy precluded them from any direct attempt to establish the influence of British culture and that, even if their policy had been

different, financial difficulties at that time would have proved an insurmountable obstacle.

Be that as it may, the fact remains that it would have been a sound investment for the British Government, with its more than ample resources, to have founded a University from its own purse. It might have laid itself open to the charge of influencing Egyptian opinion, but there were other nations which cared very little for the opinions of others. British apathy in this connection allowed French and Italian culture to take a firm grip of the Egyptian intelligentsia, and the Egyptian University, as it was then, became nothing more than a forcing house for young hot-heads who speedily became game for the extremists.

Had Great Britain made its presence felt earlier, the Egypt of to-day would be a vastly different place.

In 1913, when control of elementary schools and some other institutions was handed over to the Provincial Councils, King Fuad resigned from his position as President-Rector, but it would have been better could he have remained in control of such a powerful institution as the University. He had a more balanced conception of education than those who followed him. He believed greatly in the practical side, and the Cairo University, under his tutelage, would have provided an education suitable to his country's needs. Instead, Egypt now suffers from the same incubus as India. A vast number of graduates were turned out each year qualified for posts which simply do not exist, and cannot exist in a modern

society in the numbers necessary to absorb such a vast output. The East, and especially Egypt and India, has allowed the University ideal to go to its head when what it requires is something on the standards of the British public school—something which no country was better qualified to foster than Great Britain. The East demands the practical, self-reliant individual who wears the old school tie in England, and who is prepared to enter industry and commerce and the professions with a sturdy determination to make good.

As it is, the Universities turn out their annual quota of young men who imagine that the acquisition of a degree means the open sesame to the security and ease of official status. These young men have no special training, and are, therefore, unable to find employment. Especially in Egypt is there a relatively small demand for the black-coated worker, and those that obtain employment in this channel can expect but poor reimbursement as black coats are a drug on the market.

During this pre-War period Prince Fuad also made efforts to give life to the Egyptian Geographical Society. This was founded in 1875 by the Khedive Ismail with a view "to assisting the knowledge and the exploration of the countries of Africa and the adjacent territories". Its duty was to throw light upon the countries of Africa still to be explored or little known and to undertake exploring and to assist exploring expeditions in Africa.

It was not Ismail's intention that the society should

be an ornamental one, but his interest in it speedily evaporated, and Egypt really knew remarkably little about some portions of the adjoining Sudan when the Dervishes wrested it from them.

However, under Ismail, the society had a most brilliant inauguration. Its first President was the famous Dr. Schweinfurth, and of its first members, the names of Stanley, Burton, Nordenskjold, de Lesseps, Gesse, Prince Borghese and Mitchell, all of whom made history in the great African discovery, testify to the enthusiasm with which its inception was greeted.

To the rich promises of its early activities the society added little that was tangible. With the accession of Tewfik the society retrieved a little of its early prosperity, but an end to the era of great African discoveries had been reached. The society could have undertaken a useful and admirable work in the Sudan, but this field of activity was woefully neglected, so much so that large areas were completely unmapped and even the Nile was but poorly charted.

With the reconquest of the Sudan, Prince Tewfik endeavoured to awaken the society to a sense of its responsibilities, but the Sudan was in ill-favour, and the support he received was luke-warm. He passed on to other fields. Just prior to the War the society had died a natural death.

Later, Fuad was to return to the institution, and resuscitate it. In 1917 he modified the statutes of the society and brought its programme up to date. An ethnological museum was grafted on the venture, and

he decreed that the society itself should forget about unknown or incompletely explored countries in farthest Africa, but should devote its attentions to the Nile Valley. It was required to furnish detailed maps, and to prepare works on the historical and linguistic problems of the Valley of the Nile.

Now, because of the work carried out by his society and sister institutions, Egypt is no longer despoiled of the treasures of the Pharaohs, and excavations are carried out systematically, and under licence.

In 1912, Prince Fuad turned his attention to fishing and to fish. He discovered that Egypt, with an immense coast-line, knew next to nothing about fish, whereas, in other countries, a surprising progress had been achieved since the middle of the last century in knowledge of marine and aquatic life.

A later outcome of his activities is the Institute of Applied Hydrobiology at Alexandria.

In 1912, however, with the exception of a census of Egypt's ichthyological fauna undertaken under the supervision of the British Museum, no serious attempt to study Egypt's fish supply had ever been undertaken. Some attention had been paid to the large lakes in the Fayoum which had been exhausted by the local population, but that was all.

In Europe, in America, in New Zealand and Japan, hydrobiological stations were being established or had been established, and these had resulted in many changes for the better in the conditions of modern fishing and of the industry which it supports. Egypt still retained a Biblical outlook.

For several years his was a voice crying in the wilderness, but he persisted in his propaganda and in preliminary organisation. Here Prince Fuad displayed considerable energy and tenacity. It was not until after the beginning of the War—in 1915—that some headway was made and not until 1918 that the Institute came into existence.

When first mooted the enterprise seemed impossible of achievement, and there were not lacking those who characterised it as just another of Prince Fuad's strange hobbies. The public at large was unable to grasp the utility of the venture, and smiled, and shrugged their shoulders, and observed that after all, a fish was a product of nature and an institute, even with an unreasonably high-sounding name, could do very little in the matter.

The Institute has a good record of service behind it now, and arrangements are being made further to augment its services.

Another of Prince Fuad's creations, born in his mind in the year 1907, was the Egypt Promotion Association, which had as its object the attraction of tourists to the country. Prince Fuad had seen to what an extent Italy depended upon its tourist traffic, and he saw no good reason why his own country should not share in the proceeds.

Although Egypt specially adapts itself, with its fine climate, as an ideal winter residence for the leisured classes, it was not until Prince Fuad took this matter in hand that it was sufficiently well-equipped to draw tourists and induce them to stay. Apart from

the hotels in Cairo and Alexandria, Egypt lacked that specialised and skilled organisation such as is found in Switzerland for the comfort of its visitors. Prince Fuad was determined to find a new source of revenue, as he formed the Egypt Promotion Association which soon began to prosper. He became the President, and it organises fêtes, sports meetings, motor races, and the now well-established Aviation Week at Heliopolis.

Here too, there was a lessening of activity when Prince Fuad diverted his interests, and for some years prior to his elevation as Khedive the Association became moribund. As soon as he assumed the direction of affairs, however, Fuad imbued it with new life. It is now a very flourishing institution.

Yet another of Prince Fuad's projects was an exhibition of African ethnography. He took up the work of organising such an exhibition with his accustomed verve, but it did not materialise. He decided, according to the remarks he made when he first approached the idea, that Africa, penetrated by Western civilisation, demanded the attention of the world. He wanted to see a display of the products of the entire continent, and a grouping together of the proofs of progress achieved. His purpose was frankly to advertise his own country, and to create a favourable impression.

He argued that by her geographical position and exceptionally favourable climate, Egypt was indicated as the centre for such an exhibition, and that the natural centre was Cairo.

He was openly contemptuous of the African sections of exhibitions which had been held elsewhere, and maintained that these had been intended only to arouse curiosity or amusement. Even when treated seriously, these sections had been too patchy and incomplete to offer subject for serious study, and lacked that unity and spirit of universal appeal without which it was impossible to form an unbiassed idea of facts and methods.

Prince Fuad saw an exhibition in which Egypt played a predominant part. He desired to see portrayed the early plans for the Suez Canal, the history of the great waterway, its building and development, and its future as a commercial route represented in full detail. He envisaged the grouping together of different specimens of the races of Africa, and a great section detailing the agricultural products of the continent. Allied with the agricultural section would be others on irrigation depicting the great feats of engineering carried out for the conservation of water and its canalisation. Industry, although lamentably behind the times, was to have furnished a branch distinctive in its many features, and the remarkable fauna of Africa would have been represented by skins, ivory, feathers, and the like. Another section was to have been devoted to art as it flourished under the early Caliphs.

Prince Fuad worked out an ambitious scheme whereby visitors would be induced to part with their money by the lure of the almost inexhaustible variety of souvenirs, which could be produced reminiscent of Egypt's great past.

It can be seen that Prince Fuad worked hard at this project, as indeed he did at all others, but in this instance he came remarkably near to his goal, and was only foiled at the last moment by circumstances over which he and Egypt had no control.

A number of foreign governments had signified their intention of supporting the venture, and considerable encouragement came from Egyptian quarters. This was something that Egypt could understand. There was to be a great exhibition which would attract a variety of foreign visitors with money, and enthusiasm ran high.

The exhibition was to have been inaugurated on November 15, 1914. Before that date, the majority of the governments which had declared their intention of participating had their interests turned elsewhere, and the great exhibition was abandoned.

There seemed to be no limit to Prince Fuad's activities at this period. Always could he be approached on any question of philanthropy, and his assistance was never confined to the purely ornamental. He dipped deeply into his own purse on more than one occasion.

In 1909, he presided over the Egyptian Committee for the "Relief of the Victims in the Disasters in Italy", and in 1910, he accepted the Presidency of the International First Aid Society. This organisation, founded in 1907, had for its object the furnishing of first aid to every injured person and his speedy transport to hospital; it rendered assistance in measures of relief for the victims of public calamity, and

assisted in sanitary precautions in the case of epidemics.

The Society had made an inauspicious beginning, and the blame for this lay not on the shoulders of those who volunteered to render the first aid, but on those whose purpose it was to direct them. The early divergencies of opinion were regrettable and were such that it was ironically said that the first aid of the volunteers had to be confined to the directorate. After a few years, however, mutual recriminations had stifled the work of the Society, but it burst into full activity with a Prince at the head of affairs. Under Fuad's ægis, the Society asserted its existence, extended its operations beyond the directorate, and became an essential part of the machinery of the State for dealing with calamities and epidemics.

When Prince Fuad assumed command the Society had nothing and had done nothing. Before long, it possessed pretentious headquarters and considerable funds, good equipment, including numerous motor ambulances, and large supplies of medicines which were available to the poor at the cheapest of rates. In the case of the really poor, medicine and attention was provided without payment.

Fuad secured funds for his Society by invoking an annual lottery. From this source it secures an annual income of £2,000 to this day.

In 1908, when it can be said that Prince Fuad had the Society in working order, just over a thousand patients were treated. Before Fuad died, the annual treatments had passed 20,000.

The First Aid Society can be numbered among Prince Fuad's pre-War successes. The organisation is entirely voluntary, the volunteers receiving absolutely no reimbursement for services rendered.

Prince Fuad determined to take over control of this Society after witnessing an accident in Cairo. He was appalled by the cumbrous machinery which had to be brought in motion before the injured man at his feet could receive attention.

He made inquiries, and discovered that when an accident occurred, no matter how serious it might be, no one had the power to touch the victim until the police and the representatives of judicial authority had arrived on the scene and had concluded the inquiries required by the law.

Fuad was a personal witness of this delay, and in this particular instance the injured man died before he was allowed to be touched. Prince Fuad pursued his inquiries, and he was assured by the medical authorities that the man's life would have been saved had he received even inexpert attention at the time of his injury. All that was required was for someone to staunch the flow of blood.

To one of the temperament of Fuad such supine meanderings of those in authority was like a red rag to a bull. He bearded Abbas on the subject, but the Khedive shook his expressive shoulders and asked what could be done.

Fuad made suggestions, all of which were shelved because they depended for their success on assistance from the Treasury. In the end Fuad asked Abbas if he

would amend the legal procedure attaching to accidents if he evolved machinery which would not require help from the State. Abbas gave an affirmative.

Fuad set to work to put the directorate of the Society in order, and then called for more volunteers. To all volunteers he gave a certificate, and he spoke to his friends. It was soon discovered that possession of one of these certificates formed an excellent recommendation when applying for employment. Fuad got his volunteers.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE WAR

IF THE POSITION of Prince Fuad was invidious prior to the outbreak of the Great War, it was doubly so after the outbreak of hostilities and it seemed certain that Turkey must eventually incline on the side of Great Britain's enemies. Fuad had come to Egypt direct from service with the Porte, and under a ruler who had much of the old Ottoman in him.

Abbas II was at heart an Ottoman autocrat who would have had all matters, civil, military and religious centred upon his person, and it was perhaps as well for Fuad that the law of succession had been altered. In many ways Abbas II was a throw-back, and with Fuad he was dealing with a man who was not only fiery, and frequently perverse of temper, but one who, in the eyes of many Egyptians, had even bigger claims to the Khedival dignities than had he.

Under the old Ottoman law which recognised the oldest male rather than the eldest son, Fuad was farther up the lineal tree than Abbas. It might not have been that Abbas would have reverted to the age-old Turkish custom whereby those relatives too near the throne were incontinently put to death, but after one or other of the many quarrels in which the pair indulged, he might

have immured him as a virtual prisoner. In actual fact there was little love lost between uncle and nephew, and Abbas, with a mind in sympathy with the medieval, must have allowed it to recall those days when the Turkish Sultans, by way of precaution against rebellion and conspiracy, placed their male relatives in the seraglio, and in a compartment known as the cage.

However, Prince Fuad saw the dangers of his position after three years as an aide-de-camp, and wisely left those channels of activity which could bring him into open conflict with the Khedive and devoted his attentions to matters from which all political elements had been carefully weeded.

When the Great War broke out he could say that he had been circumspect; that he had done little enough to alienate the impetuous Abbas, and that his presence in Egypt over a course of years had caused the British little or no embarrassment.

Again, the prophecy of the fortune-teller leaped to his mind, for the world was in the quick-sands, and it seemed that his opportunity was at last approaching.

Abbas was in Turkey when Germany declared war, on a visit to the Mahomed V; and found the company of this man too much to his liking for him speedily to return to Egypt when war broke out in 1914. Even the fact that an abortive attempt had been made to assassinate him did not cleave him from the delights of the Bosphorus. Egypt, for its part, was not too anxious to have him back.

Abbas considered his position quite safe, because the declaration of a state of war between Germany and the Allies was followed by a formal proclamation of Turkish neutrality.

Abbas argued that he was on neutral ground, and though his absence from Egypt might be inconvenient to the British in the early days of August, 1914, he was ostensibly on holiday and there was no case which could be made out against him. Abbas, however, is alleged to have known the existence of a secret treaty between Turkey and Germany whereby the Porte would co-operate with the Central Powers, and he believed that in the struggle which would ensue the weight of force was against the Allies. He believed, therefore, that he should sit on the fence for a period while the situation crystallised.

There was no time for prevarication or fence-sitting in those early war days. Decisions had to be taken in a matter of minutes and hours. The world was at war, and war calls for action. Great Britain trusted the senile Mahomed V just as far as she could see him, and this was made immediately evident, for when war was declared there was actually in England a Turkish naval mission to take over two cruisers which had been built on behalf of Turkey. Not only were the cruisers ready to sail, but they had been paid for. The British Government immediately requisitioned them, which was of course, tantamount to saying that Turkey's declaration of neutrality was very comforting, but the possession of her two cruisers was more so.

Indeed, the British Government had every reason to

be sceptical respecting Turkey's so-called neutrality, for as early as October 30, 1913, Sir L. Mallet, writing to Sir Edward Grey from Constantinople said that the German Ambassador there had informed him that General Liman von Sanders, later to lead the Turks in their attacks on Egypt, was to head a military mission to Turkey which had as its object the reorganisation of the military schools. Later, in November, 1913, Mr. O'Beirne, writing to Sir Edward Grey from St. Petersburg, said that the Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs was "very seriously perturbed by the definite engagement by Turkey of forty-two German officers to hold executive commands in the Turkish army with a German General in command of the Army Corps at Constantinople". He added that the Russians were seriously displeased and had complained in strong terms to the German Government, to be informed by the German Chancellor that all "seemed so much in the ordinary course of things that he had not thought the matter worth mentioning".

With Turkey's traditional enemy "displeased" by the presence of German troops in Turkey, even in the early days of August, 1914 it should have been obvious to the Khedive Abbas that a conflagration was likely, and that he was playing with fire by remaining in Constantinople.

The reason for Great Britain refusing to hand over Turkey's cruisers is to be found in a letter addressed by Sir Edward Grey to Sir L. Mallet at Constantinople on December 2, 1913. The letter illustrates how a

small German military mission in Turkey could dominate the naval situation. Sir Edward wrote:

"... the position differs entirely from that previously held by Germans or any other foreign officers.

"It would place the whole *corps diplomatique* at Constantinople in German power.

"The Key of the Straits would be practically in German hands.

"The German General could take military measures that would impair the sovereignty of the Sultan. . . ."

How correct was Lord Grey in his prognostication was shown as early as August 16, 1914 when the two German cruisers, *Goeben* and *Breslau* successfully evaded the vigilance of the British Fleet and anchored off Constantinople. These war vessels, so it was said, had been sold to the Turkish Government, and were to be transferred to the Turkish navy, but the excuse was a transparent one as they were manned by German seamen, and were officered by German officers. The British Ambassador protested, and the Sultan, it is alleged, caused to be rushed several hundred Turkish fez on board the cruisers. The German crews exchanged head-gear, but their guns continued to menace Constantinople, and they held the key of the Straits.

Abbas still remained, and Prince Fuad could see that Abbas was jeopardising his position. What attitude would the British Government take? Would they, in the event of war with Turkey, dispossess Abbas, and annex Egypt, or would they maintain the *status quo* in respect to their own position, and appoint

a new Khedive? And, if there was to be a new Khedive . . ?

These were harrying days for Prince Fuad. The stars, in their courses, indicated that a throne was shortly to be rendered vacant. His own qualifications were not too good. He had expended a vast amount of energy in enterprises which had not been uniformly successful, and it was said of him that he commenced a thing and had not the requisite power of concentration or of sustained interest to carry a project through to success. On the other hand, he had rigorously eschewed politics, and there was not one of the many parties in the State which could call him enemy. Perhaps it would be British policy to appoint one who would be malleable and colourless. In time of war such a figure head would have his undoubted uses.

Fuad began to believe that each passing day brought him nearer his objective. Undoubtedly there were others who thought so also. There was a noticeable deference on the part of those who sought his company, and a distinct augmentation of those who constituted his "following".

In the meanwhile Great Britain, slowly, but inevitably, was slipping into a state of war with Turkey, and principally because of the position in Egypt. The virtual ruler of Egypt was in Constantinople, and Egypt itself was an Ottoman country and part of the far-flung Empire of the Sultan. Yet Egypt sat on the line of the British Empire's vital communications. When Egypt lent itself to the building of the Suez Canal it signed away its individuality, and became

cosmopolitan, but because of the characteristics of the British Empire, it remained cosmopolitan only so long as the British had the power and the desire for it to remain outside the British Empire. Egypt was the link, and its position in respect to the world war which was then shaping had to be defined.

When Abbas had gone to Constantinople he had left behind as Prime Minister and Regent Rushdi Pasha, who was descended from one of the old Albanian families which had come to Egypt with the great-great grandfather of Abbas, the famous Mo-hamed Ali.

Rushdi Pasha's stock had remained pure, and he prided himself on his ancestry, and he had come into violent conflict with Abbas on more than one occasion in respect to the administration of the Department of Waqfs, or Department of Religious Foundations. Tradition, as well as Koranic law accords to the ruler the express trusteeship of religious foundations, but the trusteeship of Abbas left much to be desired. Rushdi was a *rara avis* in pre-War Egypt—an honest and incorruptible man, and as such he found small favour with the Khedive.

These virtues, however, had brought him to the notice of Lord Kitchener, and his influence had secured preferment for him. He was a little man, much given to jovial parties, and Lord Kitchener had a great affection for him. The pair would commune together for hours, both standing. Kitchener, mainly silent, and always imperturbable, would gaze down from his eminence, and listen to the happy

chirpings of this bird-like little man, his one and only gesture being a curl of his famous moustache. Kitchener placed great reliance in him, and Rushdi, although he hardly slept at all during the first weeks of the Great War, and shrank even further into his small frame, did not belie the trust which the Sirdar placed in him.

Politics demanded that he should make several public references to the desirability of the early return of Abbas. In private, and because he could see that war between Great Britain and Turkey was inevitable, he made Lord Kitchener see that Abbas was a man of considerable shortcomings whose absence was preferable to his company.

At the same time Rushdi Pasha had to consider his position as Regent. A great responsibility was thrown upon his shoulders, and he received no assistance from the absent Khedive. He was faced with a problem of international importance. It was a problem so vast, and with such a bewildering variety of facets, that it was one made up of a hundred problems.

He had a British army of occupation in his country, the presence of which rendered Egypt immediately liable to attack at any moment.

Rushdi Pasha issued a proclamation in which he pointed this out to the people of Egypt, and he announced a number of measures which he hoped would make for the neutrality of Egypt. Egyptians were forbidden to enter into agreements with nationals of the countries at war with Great Britain, or to sub-

scribe to any loans which these countries might foster.

Rushdi Pasha did not make this announcement entirely of his own volition. Some pressure was applied to him from the Residency, and he made the most of circumstances. If he had done otherwise than he did, it is certain that his refusal to define the position of his countrymen would have been followed by immediate action on the part of the British Government, his own departure from the joint posts of Regent and Prime Minister and the formal annexation of the country.

The British had every reason to be apprehensive lest their line of communications was endangered, for at the outbreak of the War there was a widely expressed anti-British feeling in many parts of Egypt, and a marked disposition on the part of many factions to be guided in their attitude by the maniacal Sultan then anointing the heads of German sailors with the traditional fez of Turkey. There were others who, while still wishing success to Turkey and her allies, wished this success to be kept in the distance. They were sufficiently sympathetic toward the Sultan to hope that he would win against the forces of Europe, were he embroiled, even though they hated the thought of Egypt under the thumb of a revitalised Ottoman autocracy.

It was a curious position, born of a curious mentality, but it meant that large elements in the country were hostile to the Allies, and especially to the Power which, though neglecting to annex, had interfered,

sometimes quite brusquely, and in a manner quite at variance with Oriental custom and deportment in such matters, since the years which had elapsed from the bombardment of Alexandria. Stabilisation had come to Egypt; there was money in the State coffers; the revenues had been vastly increased; the Sudan had been worked back to a dual control; vast dams had been built which ensured that the waters of the Nile should continue to flow into the channels of prosperity and bankruptcy was but a memory.

But—there are many Orientals who instinctively turn from Western efficiency; if they do not regard it with distaste, they see much in it that is irksome: at best it tended to level classes, and in the East even now a nobleman does not associate with the commoner. The tremendous gulf between Pasha and fellahin was still considerable, but the Pasha was not the autocrat that he was, and the fellahin, with assured profits from his fields, was for the first time in his history tasting of the fruits of independence. There were many who looked askance at this. In a country so ordered, the chance of rich pickings must of necessity diminish.

Also in some quarters there was a not altogether curious desire to be on the winning side. In the first few weeks of the War, the British army was magnificent, but in point of numbers, almost entirely negligible. It was thrust back through Belgium, and waved aside by the vast German military machine as if it was of little account. The small army had yet to collect itself, halt, and hit back. Egypt was full of the stories of British reverses.

The Egyptians asked themselves how a country like England, with a bare handful of troops, could withstand the might of Germany, on whose side the Sultan of Turkey must eventually come. True, the people of Turkey were spent by the wars in the Balkans, but Turkey was so vast, and had such incredible resources. And England, on the map at least, was she not entirely insignificant?

But there were those amongst Egyptians who remembered the bombardment of Alexandria and the fact that Great Britain possessed a fleet. How, they asked themselves, would the much-vaunted Germans fare when the British fleet came forth?

Others thought further, and they saw the British fleet controlling the seas, and this, of course, touched the pocket. Great Britain would not allow Egypt to supply her enemies with cotton for munitions or with wheat for food. Perhaps, after all, it would be politic to remain on the side of one whose goodwill or enmity meant so much to the traders.

The 1914 crops were ready for the world's markets. The markets were dislocated, and British warships dominated the trade routes.

The British, with some acumen, swayed the balance of opinion by giving contracts for the buying of all Egyptian cotton on its own behalf. The British Residency again spoke to the Regent, and the result was that many Egyptians and Turks, engaged in anti-British propaganda, suddenly found themselves *en route* to Malta. With them went some hundreds of enemy aliens. Slowly, but surely, Egypt was begin-

ning to see that if there was to be any benevolence in neutrality, that benevolence should be inclined to that Power which, if necessary, could crack the whip. Abbas had made a fatal blunder in remaining in Constantinople. Each passing day was making this more obvious, and his return as Khedive less probable.

Turkey was acting curiously for a neutral. She was concentrating troops in Syria, and that was too near the Suez Canal and the British forces in Egypt to appear healthy.

On August 18, 1914, the British conveyed a declaration to the "neutral" Turkish Government in which they declared, on behalf of the Entente, that "if Turkey observed scrupulous neutrality during the War, they would hold her independence against any enemies".

It was speedily becoming obvious that Turkey was determined to be a belligerent. Large German credits in gold were being transferred from Berlin to Constantinople, and German troops and armaments were being poured into the Sultan's territory.

The Turkish forces in Syria began to move southward toward Gaza and El Arish, mines were laid to protect the Turkish fleet against attack, and the Arabs were given orders to prepare for hostilities.

October had come and had ended, and the Sultan was still declaring his neutrality when the *Goeben* suddenly lifted her anchor from the mud of the Bosphorus and sailed, complete with red fez, into the Black Sea with the Turkish warship *Hamidieh* for

company. Russian ports were bombarded, and the end came to a farcical neutrality.

It was now certain that the Khedive Abbas could not return to Egypt, but the British Government had yet to declare its intentions. More and more Fuad believed that the prophecy as to his elevation was to come about.

On November 2, the British declared martial law in Egypt, but in order to soften the blow, and to mollify Rushdi Pasha, who threatened to resign because he declared that he would be unable to keep in check the fanatically religious element which would take umbrage were Egypt to be pushed in protestingly among those who had declared Turkey an enemy, the declaration was softened by a proclamation which explained exactly how martial law would operate.

Although the phrase "martial law" might have a brutal and unpleasant flavour, it was explained to the Egyptians that in practice it would mean that responsibility for maintaining it would be transferred from the shoulders of the civil authorities on to those of the military. It also explained something upon which a great deal was to hang, and contained a promise which circumstances decreed should be kept for less than a week.

It declared that Great Britain took upon her own broad back the responsibility of prosecuting the War, and that the people of Egypt would be allowed to gaze upon the scene as interested onlookers. They must refrain from assisting the enemy, but Britain would fight *without calling upon the Egyptian people for aid*.

Within a few days of the issue of this document, it was necessary to call upon Egyptian troops to assist in the defence of the Suez Canal zone.

On November 5, 1914, a state of war was declared between Great Britain and Turkey, but matters in Egypt were allowed to drift for another six weeks. It was not until December 19 that Great Britain declared Egypt a British Protectorate and it was officially announced that Abbas II was no longer Khedive.

Prince Fuad's opportunity had come and gone. In truth, his qualifications for the position of Khedive were never seriously considered by the British Government. They selected in his stead his brother Hussein, and in so doing reverted to the Ottoman practice of elevating the oldest living male descendent. However, Hussein had traits which commended themselves, while Prince Fuad had been found wanting in many directions. He was a great landlord, and he had administered his estates in a manner which had excited the lively commendation of British and Egyptian observers. Moreover, he was exceedingly popular, and at no time in his life could Prince Fuad claim that honour. He was continually at variance with some one. The war days demanded a popular figure. There was hysteria in the air, and the expression of public opinion needed a guide to whom all factions would look with confidence. Moreover, there had been a number of incidents in Hussein's life which had made evident his courage and his sense of honesty.

Prince Hussein Hilmi became ruler with the rank of a Khedive.

CHAPTER SIX

THE PROTECTORATE

PRINCE HUSSEIN HAD ONLY to assume the mantle of a Khedive to shed all his former popularity and esteem, and to become the best hated man in the country.

There were those who had said he had sold Egypt to the British for a mess of pottage, and that Prince Fuad would have made better terms for his countrymen. Prince Fuad wisely said nothing. He was acutely disappointed, and retired for some days to cogitate on his position. Nothing, however, could keep in check his ebullient spirits for long, and he soon emerged, once more to take an active interest in the life of Cairo.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the intensity of Egyptian feeling which was aroused by the events of November and December of 1914.

The proclamation of the Protectorate, the dethronement of Abbas II, and the accession of Khedive Hussein were circumstances which, with the final disappearance of Ottoman suzerainty, cast Egypt into the greatest conflict that the world has known. She clamoured for reassurances, but the experience of thirty-two years of British occupation had not inspired Egyptians with very much confidence in British

probity, and the promises which were given on behalf of the British Government by General Maxwell, now Commander in Chief of the British Forces in Egypt, and Sir Milne Cheetham, British Chargé d’Affaires, were received with remarkably little enthusiasm and a tremendous element of doubt. “Incredulity” would perhaps be a more apt description.

In point of fact the Egyptians considered themselves wounded in their self-respect, and robbed of their rights, and with some reason. Egypt was unfortunate in that greater responsibilities in London had called Lord Kitchener away for he was a man who was both liked and understood. He had fought with Egyptian soldiers in the Sudan and had turned them from a miserable rabble into a well-drilled and efficient fighting machine. Also, if inclined to be autocratic, he understood the ways of the Eastern mind, and he would never have made the terrible mistake of touching upon Egyptian susceptibilities at a time when his own country was engaged in a struggle for its own existence.

There was, of course, a lively sense of disappointment in that the final break should have been made with Turkey, and that politically, Egypt should have stepped retrogressively rather than forward, but this much could be understood. Even though the British were avowedly unpopular, the declaration of a Protectorate did not unduly acerbate the population. The Egyptians were wounded in another and more subtle way. It was not like a clean cut, but similar to a graze which was to turn septic. And the tragedy

lay in the fact that Great Britain, always ready to make the *amende honorable* when occasion so demands, was so absorbed in the monstrous task that lay before her on the Continent, that she was for long entirely ignorant of the hurt that had been so gratuitously administered.

By a curious mental twist, the Egyptians chose to see in Great Britain's undertaking to wage the war without Egypt's military assistance, a slight upon her army. No one better than an Egyptian knows that his countrymen are essentially civilians and not soldiers, as are the Turks, but he is abnormally sensitive on the point, and it is easy to hurt him in his pride.

As the War proceeded, this humiliation of Egypt's military forces proceeded, and the view was widely expressed by the British Empire troops who flocked to Egypt in their thousands, that the Egyptians were good for labour battalions and as a backing for the police in the event of civil disturbance, but for little else.

I remember seeing an incident which well reflects the general opinion of Egyptian ineptitude which obtained at that time. There had been some trouble with the civilian population in Cairo, and feeling ran high against the British.

An Australian soldier in hospital blue was standing aimlessly at a corner. I approached him, and suggested that as he was obviously *hors de combat*, and in no condition to defend himself in case of attack, it would be as well if he sought less dangerous quarters.

He gave a raucous laugh of keen enjoyment, and rejoined:

"That's all right, whiskers . . . I've a coupler chums round the corner armed with 'ockey sticks. I'm the decoy!"

In the struggle for the retention of Egypt, Great Britain turned the Nile Delta into a great concentration camp, and with this it was obvious that Egypt, more and more, should be turned into the ways of war, even though her military resources were despised. By February, 1915, the small British garrison had been reinforced by troops from India, Australia and New Zealand to meet the threatened Turkish attack on the Canal which was being led by Djemal Pasha who, with 14,000 men, was forging through the desert southward from Syria.

The Turks arrived on the banks of the Canal, complete with artillery and with pontoons for the crossing. Egypt itself was in a turmoil, for there it was believed that the deposed Abbas was on his way back and that all who had supported Hussein could expect small mercy.

After some heavy fighting, during which the Turks succeeding in floating some of their pontoons on the surface of the Canal, the enemy was repulsed with heavy losses, and Cairo saw its first prisoners of war in the shape of several hundred disgruntled Turks. Djemal Pasha retired to a line to the northward, and even more British troops poured into Cairo, Alexandria, El Kantara and Ismailia.

If the hyper-sensitive Egyptian was treated with a

disdain born of complete lack of interest by these British troops, the majority of whom were young and inexperienced, and of the order who would never have travelled from their own parochial orbit, but for the behests of a blood-wetted Mars, he could not say that he was losing money. He was making it as he had never made it before, and the troops paid cheerfully. Their sojourns in the desert meant that they had accumulated pay when they descended upon Cairo and Alexandria, and prices soared. Apart from the fortunes being made out of the sale of wheat and cotton, there were the lesser fortunes of the smaller traders.

I went with a party of British officers at this period to a small restaurant which had no pretensions to the gaudy. These officers nonchalantly paid one hundred piastres (approximately one pound sterling) for a steak, a roll and a few potatoes. They were happy because of the potatoes. They had not tasted any for some months.

Then there were those who procured the gee-gaws from Jerusalem, Nazareth and Bethlehem. There was an inexhaustible supply of these notwithstanding the fact that a Turkish army lay between the Canal and the reputed places of manufacture. But neither the soldiers who bought these dubious souvenirs, nor the relatives in Great Britain or Australia who were to receive them with so much pleased excitement and reverence were to know that the olive wood from which so many of these articles were fashioned could not have emanated from the Mount of Olives, as was so

bare-facedly alleged. I have been many times on the Mount of Olives, and while there are certainly olive trees in profusion on the surrounding hills, I have had to remark their absence upon the eminence to which they give a name.

Egypt was growing rich out of the War, and this feeling of financial well-being only went to emphasise the impression that Great Britain was only concerned in winning the War and had scant time to devote to Egypt. This, of course, was true, but some effort might have been made to hide the fact.

This made a sensitive people look for snubs, and in a world galvanised into frenzied action by war, these are never difficult to find.

Amity was not increased when it was learned that British regiments, rewarded from the Palace with the Order of the Blue Nile, determined the holders of these decorations which were known as "Blue Boils" among the troops, by the simple process of playing "Mossy Face" which, I was assured, was a process of dealing out a complete pack of cards until someone was dealt the "Joker", and—the "Blue Boil".

As far as possible Prince Fuad kept himself aloof from the political side of the War, and he busied himself with the Egyptian Red Crescent Society. This institution, founded in 1912 as a consequence of the war in Tripoli, while helping to alleviate human suffering, was destined materially to strengthen the bonds of fraternity which unite the Moslem world.

It was in March, 1916, that General Maxwell, then

Commander-in-Chief of the British troops in Egypt, appealed to Prince Fuad to resuscitate this Society which had been allowed to sink into oblivion after the war in Tripoli, and about which no one seemed to have bothered now that a vaster and far more sanguinary contest was on Egypt's own doorstep.

Prince Fuad, convinced of the necessity of such an organisation, and fired by enthusiasm because a request had been made by the Commander-in-Chief of one of the principal belligerents—an appeal which tended to soften Great Britain's hitherto very brusque attitude toward Egypt—willingly accepted the Presidency, and reminded the Society of its responsibilities. Prince Fuad carried out its administration with great prudence and with considerable skill, and the Society rendered the most valuable services throughout the duration of hostilities.

The driving force behind the Society was Prince Fuad. He was now a heavily built man of forty-eight, with dark, upturned moustaches, and at last he seemed to be finding his feet. Perhaps it was the realisation that at last he was engaged in work which was patently and obviously useful.

Prince Fuad's principal, and truly praiseworthy work, was the foundation and maintenance at Cairo of a large hospital furnished completely with the most modern equipment, in which for more than two years and a half there was a record of more than three hundred beds constantly occupied, and almost exclusively by wounded Moslems brought back from the

Dardanelles, Palestine and Syria. The medical and surgical work of the hospital, which was carried out by Egyptian doctors and European nurses of the highest qualifications, compared favourably with that of any institution of the same class. Ambulance trains, maintained by the Red Crescent, were specially organised to proceed to El Kantara, Port Said and Alexandria to convey the wounded to Cairo with the maximum of comfort attainable, and to see that this comfort was requisite, Prince Fuad was a frequent attendant upon these trains. Often he personally assisted in carrying and tending the wounded; none outside his immediate circle, and certainly none of the unfortunate victims of war whom he handled, being even faintly aware of his identity.

Prince Fuad saw that not only medical and nursing attention was lavished upon the wounded, but that when the men were convalescent they should be provided with pocket-money. Much of this was accomplished by first transferring it from his own pocket.

Prince Fuad's care extended to the most minute detail, and he neglected nothing in the care of the wounded except his own health. For months on end he laboured for many hours a day.

Independently of the Cairo hospital, the Red Crescent Society, under the impetus implanted by Prince Fuad, sent assistance, sometimes in cash and sometimes in kind, to the medical and other organisations in Palestine, and afforded the British military authorities every assistance in the care of Ottoman wounded.

Incidentally, even after Prince Fuad was compelled

to withdraw his active assistance from the Society after being called to the throne, his interest remained, and the Society lived. In the war between Mustapha Kemal and the Greeks in Anatolia after the Armistice, and when Turkey was supposed to be a beaten and effete nation, the Society was able to send more than £18,000 to the seat of hostilities for the purchase of medical supplies.

It was also at this period that Prince Fuad conceived another scheme which, in less advanced times, would have been foredoomed to failure. In many respects Fuad was before his time, and in others, he was an opportunist. As one who had had a liberal education in Europe, he could not but be struck, when he returned to Cairo after his exile, by the lower status occupied by Egyptian women in civic rights. To touch on the status of Egyptian women at all was dangerous, but to single out for attention those of the poorer working classes was to invite misunderstanding.

The women themselves, completely uneducated, saw in any attempt to alleviate their lot, just the opposite to that which was intended, and it was a brave man indeed who would voluntarily seek to introduce to their vision anything that was new or not readily understandable.

In 1916 Prince Fuad went to Alexandria in connection with his hospital work, and the condition of some of the poorer women there appalled him. Still somewhat impetuous, the "Institute of Feminine Industries" came into being before a week was over.

This institution, as envisaged by Fuad, had for its objects the securing for working women, especially those belonging to the element known as the "very poor", and irrespective of nationality, the benefits of professional and artistic instruction. Fuad's motive was to render these unfortunates capable of earning a living which would obviate certain abuses to which their abject poverty lent itself. Another object was to develop and perfect, from the industrial and artistic point of view, the production of women's work, notably lace and embroidery. He declared that the designs for this work should be derived from the Egyptian art of the Graeco-Roman period, Coptic art, and Arab art.

The scheme was thoroughly novel to Egypt—a country where work of a social character among women is still far from having attained that standard of progress secured by Western nations, and where the situation of many women might easily be the object of pity, were conditions of livelihood not on a much easier plane than that which obtains in industrialised Europe, and were not the giving of alms a time-honoured practice.

It was predicted that the plan would come to a speedy end, and that it would soon go to swell the number of Fuad's lost causes, but events were to prove that Fuad had not attempted the impossible. A year passed before anything tangible could be accomplished, for the difficulties to be overcome were many, but in 1916, beginning with ten women apprentices, the institution saw 164 women under its

care. Much of the work done by these women reached a high standard of excellence and found a ready sale. In the following year there was a considerable increase in the number of pupils and workwomen, and lace and embroidery going out of fashion, the Prince turned the women's fingers to lingerie.

This change in handicraft was rendered possible when Prince Fuad enlarged the scope of his scheme to include the daughters of respectable families who had met with misfortune. These women were only too pleased to secure work of this character, much of it being done in their own homes. It was the discreet and unobtrusive manner in which Fuad set to work that made the institution the success it was. At one of the sales which was organised at this period, work done by these women realised £4,000.

To turn for the moment to Khedive Hussein:

When he accepted the throne, and thereby grievously disappointed Fuad, he lost the great popularity which was his, but gradually, with the great prosperity that was coming to Egypt, he was able to regain this more or less to a greater extent when it was realised that in accepting British dominance, at least temporarily, he was serving the best interest of his country. Although the Egyptians as a whole objected to assisting the British where this meant that they were required to leave lucrative fields of industry and employment, Hussein's steady upholding of the Allied and British cause did much to overcome many of the difficulties which were encountered.

He was convinced that British arms must at length

triumph, and he at least was content to await the end of hostilities, in the belief that the part which Egypt had played in assisting the British Empire in its hours of travail, would entitle it to a long stride upon the road of constitutional advancement. Although he was frequently slighted, and his position was frequently one of immense difficulty, he was sufficiently broad-minded to realise that he was dealing with a country at war, and that these were not intentional, and that when brought to notice when peace was finally restored, would materially add weight to the case which he intended to present on behalf of his countrymen.

With the Moslem world in a complete state of flux, and with Egypt as the vital connecting link of the British Empire, it seemed that some further attempt must be made to regularise Great Britain's position in the country. Hussein, convinced, as it has been noted, of British integrity, and believing that annexation by Great Britain would solve many difficulties born of the War, actually suggested this step. Almost as soon as he had propounded this course, Hussein, still a comparatively young man, fell ill and died. This was on October 9, 1917.

Again Prince Fuad was brought close to the throne, but again it seemed that Fate was to belie the words of the seer who had prophesied that he should die a king.

The British had hurriedly to search for a successor to Hussein, and in the war years, decisions had to be taken quickly. It has to be admitted that again the

claims of Prince Fuad were allowed to remain in the background. First consideration was given, according to the lineal descent, to Prince Kemal-ad-Din, the son of Hussein.

Egypt, although not officially an Ally, was at war. Some of her troops had been engaged in the defence of the Canal, and more and more were her fellahin being impressed into labour battalions and into camel corps to maintain the communications of the British Empire's combatant forces. Her position was unique in the annals of war, and she required at her head a leader and someone who would maintain the flow of assistance to the Allies and at the same time guide the country through the tortuous maze of political indecision which enshrouded its public life.

Prince Kemal-ad-Din was weighed in the balance, and found wanting. A man of delightful personality, and one who had a large circle of firm friends, he himself was the first to admit that he lacked the capacity satisfactorily to fill the place of a Khedive. Always had his disposition been retiring, and as far as his position allowed, he had withdrawn from the public gaze.

Prince Kemal-ad-Din was approached, and the seriousness of his father's illness was impressed upon him. The probability of his father's demise he accepted with fatalistic phlegm, but the possibility of being called upon to take his place appalled him. His timid nature revolted at the thought of responsibility, and he lost no time in indicting a letter to Hussein in which he renounced all claims to the succession.

Still Prince Fuad was a considerable distance from the throne. Fuad was childless, and his antipathy toward women to the extent of embracing another as wife, was well known. Hussein indicated his cousin Prince Yusuf Kemal as a man whose claims to elevation might well be considered.

Prince Kemal-ad-Din's letter of renunciation, written and delivered on October 9, had, however, re-opened the whole question of the line of accession. Prince Yusuf Kemal had not been much in the public eye. On the other hand, it seemed that Prince Fuad, with his great energy and variety of tastes, had now a concentrative power which he had lacked in his early years. He had been circumspect, and he had steered a course which had kept him outside the orbit of his country's troubled politics. Since the outbreak of the War, and especially when the matter had been suggested to him by the British Commander-in-Chief, he had played a conspicuous and a highly successful part in succouring the Moslem wounded.

His qualifications were better than those of Prince Yusuf Kemal, even when his disabilities were weighed against them.

The British Government gave anxious thought to his case, bearing in mind that his influence over Egyptians was not all it might have been. By the majority, notwithstanding the fact that he was a brother of Hussein, he was regarded as a foreigner. His upbringing in Italy had rendered him highly proficient in Italian, but hesitant and uncertain in Arabic. Of English he had only a working smattering.

He was sounded, and expressed his keen interest in the matter, and when Hussein died, the day after his son had renounced the accession, Fuad knew that he had been selected to fill his brother's place.

Fuad did not attempt to conceal his satisfaction. If the volume of popular acclaim was rather thin, Fuad was not perturbed. Always was he slightly contemptuous of mass opinion, especially Egyptian mass opinion, though a slighting word from one whose opinion he valued could wound him and rouse his ire.

When Sir Reginald Wingate called upon him and announced the decision of the British Government, Fuad, well aware that he was being weighed against Prince Yusuf Kemal, and mindful of past disappointments, had difficulty in maintaining his poise. Once he had realised that his brother Hussein was on his deathbed he had been consumed by alternative hope and doubts. He had hardly slept, and had spent hours pacing his rooms eagerly awaiting the news which would announce either another bitter disappointment, or the attainment of his life's hope.

When Sir Reginald announced the news, Fuad was greatly affected. Speaking rapidly to hide his emotion, he announced his immediate intention to undertake a pilgrimage to the tomb of his illustrious ancestor, Mohamed Ali, and of his father, the Khedive Ismail.

His first order, as a Khedive, was to order his own tomb to be prepared beside theirs, and to those around

him he declared that in this, his very first act, he sacrificed his life for his country and for the continuation of the work commenced by Mohamed Ali and his father Ismail.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE KHEDIVE

IN MANY WAYS Egypt was fortunate in having ready to hand at a time of great international crises a man of Fuad's subtle temperament. He had his failings, but he was called upon to accept a position where personal idiosyncrasies were apt to be thrown into the limelight, and solid work lost amidst the cross-currents of faction and political wrangling. It was inevitable that he should fail to please, as it was incumbent upon him to steer a middle course. If his bearing were frequently off the line of dead reckoning, that was because the situation called for a judicious tack.

With an apprehensive, watchful and undecided British Government at one elbow, and a powerful Nationalist caucus at the other, it was impossible for the ruler of Egypt to be consistently popular. In the circumstances, it is not surprising that he was sometimes a virtual prisoner in his Palace. Only is it remarkable, the temper of Egypt being something that is easily inflamed, that he died in his bed. In his latter years Fuad never expected other than a sudden and violent end. He took the greatest precautions, and never exposed himself unnecessarily, but never was he a hunted, strained-faced monarch fearful of the consequences of his next step.

He was extremely fatalistic, and to the end reposed the greatest confidence in the power of fortune-tellers. There had been one who had prophesied that he would die a King. That prophecy was to come true. There was another who read his palm, and said that he would die naturally, and would be interred with all honour in the tomb which he had prepared beside that of his father. He would smile his bitter smile when requested to take special care of his person, but he was never really afraid.

Fuad's belief in the value to be placed on prophecy was further instanced when he was informed that the letter "F" was to prove singularly lucky for him and his House. This was in his early days, when his hopes of ascending the throne were purely personal, and were not subscribed to by others.

A daughter was born of his first marriage, and he insisted that her name should begin with an "F". Accordingly, she was named Princess Fawkia. When the time came for her betrothal, he once more insisted that the "F" should be predominant. Princess Fawkia eventually married Fakhri Pasha, the Egyptian Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris.

Years later, when Fuad married again, this insistence upon the pre-eminence of the letter "F" continued to obtain. The marriage took place on May 24, 1919. A son and heir was born on February 11, 1920, and he was styled, Prince Faruk.

Later, there were born three daughters, and they were named Princess Fawzieh, Princess Faizeh and Princess Faika.

Egypt was fortunate also in that in Fuad it had a ruler who, when he was first called upon to guide its affairs, was remarkably free from personal prejudices. At the age of fifty, he was able to form his own judgments, and these, to a remarkably small degree, had been tinged by a pre-palace atmosphere.

He had, moreover, perfect breeding, a military education which enabled him to see the shortcomings of his country's military efforts, a strong sense of discipline and duty, and a tenacity of will which, combined with his sense of discipline and duty, was to create many heartburnings in the Palace circle.

It is not to be supposed that a man of fifty, suddenly elevated from the status of a free-lance princeling to that of ruler, could suddenly change his mode of life. His previous years had been marked by flurried excursions into all manner of projects where the amount of personal energy which Fuad expended left his slower-going Egyptian colleagues mentally exhausted. Fuad had brought with him from Italy a disposition to get things done. Even so, the Italian tempo was slower than that of the more virile British, yet it was much too enervating for the slow and pompous atmosphere of an easy-going court.

Cairo was aghast when it learned that Fuad, as a Khedive, insisted upon retaining his habit of a lifetime and of rising at five o'clock in the morning, but the haggard expressions which this dire news induced in Court circles gave way to a certain degree of equanimity when it was discovered that Fuad was to temporise. However, this habit of early rising was so far against

precedent, and led to so many awkward *faux pas* on the part of those about him, that he was never really forgiven by vested Court interests. It is disconcerting, to say the least, to be summoned to the Royal presence at ten o'clock, immediately after a hurried breakfast, and to be cross-questioned on a portfolio which the ruler has been digesting for several hours.

"I invariably awake at five o'clock," said Fuad to a friend of mine on one occasion, "but"—and he smiled broadly—"I have found it convenient not to leave my apartments until much later."

He indicated those about him—the members of his staff of the civil and military household, and said with a malicious twinkle in his eye:

"It would be wrong to disturb these young folks!"

I remember now the wry smiles with which the members of his suite accepted this dry sally. They had to appear amused, but quite patently they were not, and more than one covert expression indicated strong disapproval of a practice which was so nervously exhausting for laggards and lie-a-beds.

In point of fact, almost to the time of his death, Fuad made it an unbreakable rule always to rise at five o'clock, when the one person he would consent to see would be his sleepy-eyed valet with whom it was his wont invariably to be heavily jocular. Once Fuad caught the unfortunate man in the act of yawning, and he was never allowed to forget it.

It was said, in the Palace, that thereafter the valet never entered the Royal presence without first dowsing his head with cold water in order entirely to eradicate

any signs of sleepiness or ennui, but that one yawn remained in Fuad's memory.

Fuad would bathe and dress, and partake of an extremely frugal breakfast, and invariably he was engaged in gentle physical exercises by half-past five. Fuad was inclined to consider his figure. Under a less disciplined owner this would have become more corpulent than it did, but Fuad always ate sparingly, and if his physical exercises were not of the kind materially to reduce *avoids*, they were at least regular and consistent.

Fuad had quite a library dealing with gymnastics, all of which was well-thumbed. Theoretically he treated the subject with great sincerity. He had an objection, however, to contorting himself before others, and never did he attempt his exercises until he was bathed and dressed. They were then of a very gentle and decorous character, and were performed with immense solemnity before a large mirror. The only person allowed to intrude upon these genuflexions was the valet. It was his task to stand ready with a pad of astringent lotion with which Fuad would wipe his face after his exertions.

Fuad had his own private courier service which kept him supplied with the latest Arabic and European newspapers as they became available. He was a great believer in the newspaper as a means of keeping track of current events, and he went to considerable lengths to make certain that his source of supply was constant and "unedited".

In addition to those newspapers which he secured

privately, Fuad was furnished, as soon as was practicable, with cuttings and translations from the current Press. These latter were supplied by the Cabinet, and Fuad found his own sources an excellent check on the material furnished by departmental hands.

More than once Fuad found it necessary to point out to an over-zealous secretary, that it was unnecessary so to twist a translation as to render its criticism innocuous, or to delete an especially libellous or scurrilous passage from the cuttings furnished by his department.

Fuad took the greatest delight, and the utmost interest in these early morning studies of the world's Press. He found in this reading a ready source of information, much of which he carefully noted and tabulated in note-books, and in his own hand. His ability frequently to turn to some curiously obscure fact, or some expression of opinion which many hoped had long ago been forgotten, was often a source of acute embarrassment to those in his suite.

Fuad's interest in the so-called "Extremist" Press was no less than in that belligerently Loyalist, and it was this close study of events which caused him to take a firm stand on sundry occasions, and frequently to be one march ahead of Ministers who were proving "difficult". It also enabled him to keep a wary eye on the numerous members of his family (not, of course, his own children) of whom he had inherited a real Ottoman distrust.

Fuad was a practised reader of cards, and he spent much of his spare time with a pack strewn out on his

desk in an effort to calculate the future. While he was reasonably confident that he himself would die in his bed, an equally firm forecast respecting his son eluded him. He took no chances, therefore, and Prince Faruk went to England.

In addition to the Egyptian newspapers and magazines, Fuad received and regularly read a large number of foreign publications. He had standing orders with many of the principal libraries, and books on history, science, literature and art, many of them in *éditions de luxe*, were continually arriving for his perusal.

More than a dozen French daily newspapers were continually on order, together with more than a score of illustrated magazines and reviews. The number of English newspapers he received were less, because of his difficulties with the language. Italian newspapers and magazines were the most numerous. In addition, he subscribed to three press-cutting agencies, one British, one French, and the other, American.

Fuad was especially interested in the subject of the Caliph, and the action of Mustapha Kemel, and the segregating religious administrations from the temporal. Here, too, he asked many questions respecting the ill-starred Maharajjin movement in India, where so many of the Faithful, perturbed at the terms which were to be placed on Turkey by victorious Allies, determined to shake from their feet the dust of a country which was under British dominance.

Ins shrewdly suspected then, and later events were to bear out this impression, that Fuad saw himself

taking the place of the deposed Sultan of Turkey and Caliph in the regard of Moslems.

Later he was to come into conflict with Ibn Saud on this very point in respect to the passage of the Holy Carpet from Egypt. King Ibn Saud, as the custodian of Holy Mecca, is rapidly securing that eminence in the thoughts of Moslems which was accorded the Caliph in Constantinople. Fuad, jealous of his own position, and determined to uphold his ancient rights maintained, as before, the custom of despatching a company of Egyptian soldiery to guard the carpet on its way to the Holy Shrine.

The presence of Egyptian soldiery in what is now a water-tight kingdom, and in close proximity to Mecca itself, gave cause for considerable apprehension among the Wahabis, who interpret their Faith with a strictness which is not common elsewhere. Fuad insisted on his right to guard the carpet, and there ensued considerable bad feeling, and finally incidents which shocked Moslems, whether strict interpreters of the Koran, or otherwise. Within close proximity to the Holy City, an attack was made on the Egyptian guard. Stones were thrown, and the incident so developed that Wahabi troops had to be summoned to the scene. Before calm was restored, several Wahabi troopers and several of the Egyptian guard were hurt.

This regrettable episode induced strained relations between Mecca and Cairo for some time and for several years the Holy Carpet was not despatched. Just prior to his death, an effort was made to secure

a compromise, and a deputation from Mecca set out for Cairo for this purpose. Before it could arrive in the Egyptian capital, however, Fuad was dead.

Another matter on which Fuad displayed considerable interest was that of terrorism in India. Egypt is unfortunately a country where terrorist technique is not unknown, and Fuad was anxious to learn all he could regarding the extent and the potentialities of the cult in India, and particularly in Bengal.

His "informants" explained to him the difficulties which the police experienced in maintaining a rigorous watch on the ports of Bombay and Calcutta, and the comparative ease with which the evilly disposed could transport their engines of death through territories adjacent to British India.

He used to shake his head upon hearing such reports and had often remarked upon the facility with which arms and ammunition could be smuggled across Egypt's borders, particularly in the Canal zone, and how almost impossible was the task of the police and customs in checking the evil.

Later, of course, there was to be a remarkable exposition of Egypt's vulnerability in this respect when the country went drug mad, and years of unceasing and unremitting vigilance were required before any headway could be made against the wiles of those who were making fortunes out of the traffic.

It was at this preliminary interview that Fuad gave to a highly placed friend of mine that he showed a striking insight into his character.

With a certain uneasiness, because he was being approached on his purely private and personal affairs, the interviewer remarked upon his grasp of modern problems. Particularly did he instance the fact that the King had quoted from an article which had appeared only in that morning's newspapers.

It was then that Fuad threw open several leather-bound folders, and displayed his day's cuttings.

Upon a remark being made that assiduously to read so much, quite apart from the study of State papers which ordinarily took up several hours a day, must prove a great strain, Fuad merely smiled.

"I get up early," he said, "principally because I like it. Also, it means that I have knowledge, and—knowledge in a country such as mine is necessary. Without it, the ruler would be a cypher, and . . ."

He broke into Italian :

"*La massa ama gli uomini forti. La massa e donna.*"

"The crowd loves strong men. In that, the mob is like a woman."

In that, I think, we have the secret of Fuad's frequent rebellions against the deficiencies and glaring inadequacies of constitutional government as portrayed by some of his Ministries and of his recourse to "Palace" government on occasion, and what was to all intents and purposes a dictatorship.

It was Fuad's custom to grant audiences from half-past ten in the morning, and this he would continue until two o'clock in the afternoon without a break. I have no reason to believe that the cordiality with which he greeted those foreigners who had the honour

of an audience with him on these occasions was in any way remarkable, for he was an approachable man, and provided that one did not bore him, and could talk intelligently on subjects which interested him, he always appeared pleased to renew an acquaintance. He was, however, deeply suspicious of the time-server, and those who, metaphorically speaking, fell prostrate before him. His breeding forbade him to do so, but his eyes voiced the question: "Now, what can *you* want?"

As far as possible, Fuad kept to a strict routine.

His lunch, always a very simple meal, he would have after his morning audiences. After lunch he would receive his Ministers and consider the questions submitted by them. The afternoon too was the time for the issue of decrees, and the signing of orders.

Always at half-past three, the chiming of the clock would announce to the Ministers, without further persuasion, that the time for official business had ended, and it was then that Fuad would resume his audiences of the less exalted, in whose company he appeared to be vastly more at home.

Fuad believed greatly in the benefits of a daily walk, and though the streets of Cairo were for long periods dangerous grounds for the promenade, he still secured his exercise. The gardens of the Abdin Palace in Cairo, although well maintained, do not possess many attractions, and Fuad used frequently to chafe at the necessity which kept him within their confines.

His favourite resort was the Palace of Montazeh at Alexandria in the quiet and healthy district of Ramleh.

There the park, which extends right down to the sea—and the sea at Alexandria has to be seen to be believed—is truly magnificent. Fuad was never happier than when he could stride through these glorious surroundings, completely alone, except perhaps for one or other of his children.

It might be assumed that as Fuad commenced his day at such an early hour, he would relax after his constitutional stroll of the late afternoon, but invariably the hours between six o'clock and dinner would see him at his papers and books, and after dinner he would summon together high officials of the Household. Fuad carried to the throne of Egypt an immense capacity for sustained labour, and his tenacity of will, and his determination to evolve a solution of any set problem before the matter was put on one side, often placed too great a strain on the physical strength of those about him.

These evening séances would frequently be protracted, and would continue until eleven and twelve o'clock. This capacity for sustained effort was a trial and tribulation for sundry of those Ministers who had been charged to obtain the Royal assent to particular projects on which Fuad privately entertained doubts. A tired man will frequently give way whereas in other circumstances he would remain steadfast, and in this is to be found the reason why so many Ministers found themselves at variance with their followers.

It was not so much capitulation to Royal powers of persuasion or Royal eloquence, as physical inability

longer to try conclusions with a man who appeared capable of disregarding the urgent claims of the clock.

It would have been remarkable if these long hours spent in the confinement of his study had not irked one who had spent so many of his early years out of doors. Fuad was not an administrator by inclination, and he applied himself so closely to a study of the problems that affected his position and his country purely from a sense of duty.

His early military education had preserved in him a great predilection for sports of all kinds, and if he was beyond the age for active participation when he was raised to the Sultanate, he saw to it as far as was possible that others should have the benefit of organised games. He was acutely aware of the broad civil streak in the mental make-up of his countrymen as opposed to the military, and he believed that a resort to games and a fostering of the team spirit would do much to inculcate in Egyptians that spirit which was lacking in his army.

Constantly he afforded his encouragement to sport in one category or another, either by bestowing his personal patronage upon sporting associations, personally attending competitions, bestowing prizes from his privy purse, or assisting the sporting activities of communities with gifts of lands for playing fields.

Fuad was greatly interested in racing, and was a frequent visitor to the racecourses at Gezireh and Heliopolis.

During the years of his reign he fostered a great

development of sport of all kinds. When he died there was hardly a school which did not have its football eleven, and the public had become sufficiently enthusiastic to evince a great interest in league events. If this interest was sometimes a little too boisterous, and if sometimes the spectators took too prominent a part in the games, it has to be remembered that the Egyptians were new to partisanship as applied to the realm of team sports.

Under Fuad's personal encouragement football has taken a great hold of Egyptian imagination, and in matches with British army teams in Egypt, Egyptian teams can now put up creditable performances.

It was Fuad's dearest wish that he should see the Olympic Games played in Alexandria before he died, but in this he was to be disappointed. It was at his own suggestion that a commencement was made upon the construction of a stadium at Alexandria. When completed, this area will have seating accommodation for 25,000 spectators.

Fuad, who saw all the plans, went many times to the site to inspect the operations. When finished, a great forged iron gate will give opening to a passage in the main grand stand, and this will lead direct to the rooms which he had reserved for himself. These will be in the Renaissance style, while those which were to have been placed at the disposal of Queen Nazli, will be in that of Louis XIV.

Arrangements are being made to complete the stadium in accordance with the designs sanctioned by Fuad. The style is to remain purely classical, and

there will be specially reserved accommodation for harem ladies. A special stand for athletes will accommodate 3,000 persons.

Fuad's own and personal contribution to the cost of the stadium was £5,000.

CHAPTER EIGHT

EARLY POLITICAL TRIALS

IT WAS PRINCE FUAD'S misfortune that he should have been called upon to succeed Hussein as Khedive at a time when Egypt as a whole was deeply suspicious of Great Britain's intentions toward the country and when the vast majority of the people had small conception of the difficulties which confronted the Palace and was impatient, restive, and deficient in understanding.

Egypt was appalled at the thought of Hussein suggesting the expedient of annexation to Great Britain. He had done this on the eve of his death. It was quite unable to understand the motives which prompted him to take this action.

When Prince Fuad succeeded him, a more accurate appreciation of the difficulties surrounding the ruler could come but slowly, and Fuad was early called upon to exercise the utmost tact and courage, not only to rally the people and to make evident the common interest which bound the nation with the dynasty, but to remove the surly atmosphere of distrust with which all who had intercourse with the Residency were automatically surrounded. In 1917, if one was not hostile to Great Britain, *ipso facto*, one was a traitor.

Into these troublous waters did Fuad launch his bark of State. He was to see Great Britain and Egypt drift apart, and Egypt, caught up in the currents of a newly awakened Nationalism, acclaim the cleavage with ever increasing force as the War days slipped their dreadful way through to 1918 and the world was plunged once again into the welter of history's most cynical euphonism, labelled "Peace".

It is unnecessary here to wind a tortuous way through the intricate political intrigues which kept the Khedive fully occupied during the first eight months of his reign. Sufficient is to say that the coming and going of Ministries over the vexed question of legislative reform, made it evident to the country that this new ruler was ambitious, and aspired to an important role. King Fuad was determined to be no figure head. He had too much energy, too much ability, and too great a regard for the duty which he had undertaken ever to become the official mouth-piece of Ministers. His conception of his high office was that he was preeminent, and that his Ministers were there to tender him advice, and this advice was to be advice and not a tactfully worded command.

Fuad did not work at all hours merely for the pleasure of mastering his subject. The driving force was a desire to master the Ministers. Over many he assumed a strong ascendancy, and where he was not successful in this, he ignored them. When this occurred, he turned for advice to the members of his suite rather than those constitutionally representing the people.

In 1917, when Prince Fuad became Khedive, the country was simmering. By the end of 1918 everyone was searching for a safety valve. Crises were a matter of daily occurrence. Everyone fearfully awaited the explosion.

The year 1918 was probably the most painful which Egypt has experienced in its long history, for the country had become politically minded, and everyone was wondering what was to be its fate.

As the War had progressed, and it became vitally necessary for Great Britain to draw upon Egypt's resources, the number of British officials increased alarmingly. The vast and cumbrous machine which a great Power at war had to build was necessarily patchy. It had been erected on no fixed plan. Additions and alterations had been made as circumstances so demanded. Mainly, there were additions. The structure sprawled over the face of the land, and Egyptians asked themselves if their country could ever be free of the incubus.

Throughout the latter part of the War, ever mindful of the promise which had been made to Egypt in return for her part in supplying the sinews of war, Zaghlul Pasha, who had led the opposition in the Assembly in 1914, had achieved a great ascendancy over Egyptian intelligentsia. Zaghlul, whatever his detractors may say to the contrary, was a patriot in that he placed his countrymen first. He worked for a radical change in the relations between Great Britain and Egypt, and his mission was largely successful among Egyptians of the educated type.

He did not pay too much attention to the methods which he used to attain his ends, and he was not one of those who stood in fear of the Palace. When the War ended, he was a man of undoubted influence, and he had a great popularity. He was not fettered either to the Ministry, or to the Palace. Actually, he was very much in the bad books of the Khedive.

Zaghlul and the Khedive never understood one another. Broadly speaking, both were aiming at the same goal, but both were too much alike in temperament ever to work in a successful partnership. Fuad could never regard Zaghlul as other than a dangerous agitator, and Zaghlul saw in the person of Fuad only a power who stood in the way of the free representation of the people.

How closely these two could have worked in harmony was demonstrated during the very last days of the War. The day before the Armistice on the Western Front (the armistice with Turkey had, of course, already been declared and Egypt was already thinking in terms of peace) Zaghlul presented himself at the British Residency at the head of a deputation and desired to see Sir Reginald Wingate.

This entirely unauthorised and unofficial manœuvre infuriated Fuad, because it cut right across the track of the negotiations he was then in the act of carrying out, with the assistance of his Ministers, with the British Government.

Zaghlul, once inside the Residency, coolly made his purpose known. It was nothing less than a demand for the immediate independence of Egypt. The visit

took Sir Reginald Wingate entirely by surprise, and his only possible counter, the deputation already being within the walls of the Residency, was that he was not in a position to announce the intentions of the British Government on a matter of such moment.

A few days later, the Prime Minister, Hussein Rushdi Pasha, requested the British Foreign Office, through the intermediary of Sir Reginald Wingate, the High Commissioner, that he should be received in London with his colleague, Adly Pasha, to negotiate with the British Government in the interests of Egypt. This was the manner in which the Khedive approached the same goal. However, this request met with the rejoinder that the British Government had yet to formulate the basis of an agreement and that a discussion had best be postponed.

Rushdi Pasha immediately resigned the Premiership, and his letter covering this action, left no doubt as to the warmth with which Fuad had supported him in his aspirations toward Egyptian independence.

It was now, much to Fuad's vexation, that Zaghlul took the field, and with him all the more extreme in the Nationalist camp. The whole country seethed with excitement, and the worst possible construction was placed on the word "Protectorate". The Khedive, whom I shall now style with his new title of King, because he still believed that the best method of steering Egypt toward her political goal was to abide the time of the British Government in a matter of such immensity, had to face a wave of fierce unpopularity,

and disorders of unprecedented violence became the rule from one end of Egypt to the other.

Zaghlul stalked the country organising committees and collecting signatures for a mass mandate to represent the people of Egypt. In the meantime, Sir Reginald Wingate was prevailing upon Whitehall to accept the suggestion of Rushdi Pasha of negotiations in London. Rushdi Pasha had tendered his resignation on December 2, 1918, but it was not to be accepted until March 1, 1919.

King Fuad was determined not to be left in a position where Zaghlul might demand the vacant Premiership; and wheels were turning giddily within wheels. Zaghlul, when he first made his request, would have gone to London with alacrity, and with a fair chance of taking with him the goodwill of his countrymen. In the interim which ensued, Zaghlul had made such headway in his campaign, and had held up the Palace and the Ministry to such ridicule, that when it was at last decided that Rushdi should proceed to London early in 1919, the Prime Minister found himself in a quandary. So quickly had the situation developed, and so complete was Zaghlul's ascendancy over the masses, that any such visit was now doomed to failure no matter what terms were arranged. It was certain that scorn and repudiation would be the lot of anything which Rushdi might negotiate.

The King was fully alive to the situation—the newspapers left little to the imagination—and he was able to sink his personal prejudices sufficiently to suggest a compromise. It was subtle, and it should have suc-

ceeded. In brief, it was that Zaghlul, as representing extreme Nationalist opinion, should accompany the Prime Minister on his mission.

It was not that Fuad believed that the inclusion of Zaghlul among the negotiators would secure better terms for Egypt. In a sense, his motives were malicious.

He made no secret of the fact among his personal entourage that it would be a good thing for Zaghlul could he batter his wings against British inflexibility born of a preoccupation in matters of greater importance than the political salvation of Egypt.

Fuad rather enjoyed the thought of the spectacle of Zaghlul battling with realities in London. He considered that the journey would prove of great educational value to all Nationalists and to extremists in particular.

"Let them see," he remarked angrily, "how these things are done. Perhaps they will then have a better appreciation of what I have accomplished."

To the end of his days, Fuad was never able to forgive the Zaghlulists their lack of appreciation of his efforts. He considered that this absence of enthusiasm was entirely due to a lack of knowledge and understanding, and to their disregard of the difficulties with which he had to contend. The thought of this could always rouse his ire. He considered that the thanks and the gratitude of the country were due to him. Never could he fully understand the reasons which prompted his unpopularity.

When the British Government intimated that they

could not countenance the departure for London of Nationalist politicians who were not representative of Egypt, and Zaghlul was thus debarred, King Fuad saw his scheme fade into nothingness. Had Zaghlul been allowed to leave for London at that juncture many of Fuad's later problems would not have arisen. As it was, Rushdi Pasha deemed it expedient to resign, and he did so with the full approval of the King. It was the one way he could demonstrate his displeasure in the action of the British Government.

Incensed by what was believed to be the aloof indifference of Whitehall to the legitimate aspirations of Egypt, and convinced that the intention was to extinguish the conception of Egyptian independence both in theory and in fact, Egyptians everywhere allowed their feelings to master them, and there were strikes of officials and considerable disorders and blood-letting.

Whitehall had completely failed to sense the situation in Egypt, and was inclined to be indignant with Egyptian Nationalists for advancing impossible demands at a moment almost embarrassingly inopportune. Whitehall believed Egypt to be incapable of gratitude, and it rumbled sonorously, pointing out that Egypt had been saved by the might of British arms from participation in a bloody conflict, and behind this barrier of armaments had improved the occasion by years of judicious profiteering.

The point of view of the two countries was miles apart. Whitehall looked upon the Egyptian as a capricious and insufferable child, continually howling

for what would not be good for it. Cairo looked upon Whitehall as peopled with stuffed mandarins who were incapable of giving an affirmative gesture to anything and who looked at Egypt through coloured glasses and steadfastly refused to see realities.

In the accepted sense of the term, Egypt had not been a belligerent. Officially, she had not been an Ally, and when she applied for permission to be present at the Peace Conference and to state her case on a par with Syrians, Arabs and Jews, she was brusquely refused.

During these vexed days no one could be found to accept the Ministerial portfolios, and King Fuad was compelled to carry on the administration with the assistance of Palace officials. It was known that the King was behind the country in its fight for independence, even if he did not approve of Zaghlul, and gradually he was accorded a lukewarm enthusiasm.

Indeed, Fuad could not be otherwise than antipathetic toward Zaghlul. Two days after Rushdi Pasha had resigned (on March 3) he called at the Palace and demanded an audience of Fuad. It was accorded, but even the flowery cadences of Court language could not hide the sinister import behind the visit. Zaghlul left no doubts in the mind of Fuad as to what would occur were he to appoint a Ministry, and carry on the fight for independence through the rusty and dust-clogged channels of diplomatic negotiation.

It was a threat to the throne which was not even veiled, and it placed the King in a vicious quandary.

At the back of him, and in the far distance, he had a Power, rendered short-tempered by the vicissitudes of war and liable, if pushed too far, to come down with a ukase which would cancel Egypt's aspirations for decades, if not for all time. In front, and wildly gesticulating, he had an extremist mob, led by Zaghlul and his colleagues, who had attained that eminence when the ruler could be bearded in his Palace and warned that if he did not conform to certain instructions, the worst could be expected. The worst was, of course, a popular uprising which would sweep away the dynasty and leave in its place a country of self-determination modelled on the plan of the United States.

At that time Washington was fast becoming the spiritual Mecca of Egyptians, Syrians and the like, and President Wilson only a little less than the prophet of world-politics.

King Fuad comported himself with extreme decorum during this most momentous audience, and when Zaghlul departed he had received no inkling as to the intentions of the ruler. Fuad was cold, curt, yet icily polite. He required time to think out the corrective to this *coup de théâtre*.

Zaghlul saw in the negative character of his reception, a potential victory. He had not been assailed; he had not been summarily arrested. Therefore, the King must have been cowed and intimidated. His language became even more violent, and the time for quiet reflection and judicious cogitation was fast slipping by. If the country was not to be thrown into

civil war with the almost certainty that the King would be deposed, whatever the outcome, action was imperative.

As much as it went against his personal inclinations, one avenue and one avenue only remained open for Fuad if he was to weather the storm. Zaghlul's wings would have to be clipped. Alone, he had not the power, but—there were the British, and perhaps they could be induced to shoulder the responsibility.

They could, and would.

Sir Milne Cheetham, the acting High Commissioner, when apprised of Zaghlul's action lost not a moment in acquainting Whitehall with the true state of affairs. At the same time, and in order to check Zaghlul while the orders of Whitehall were being formulated, Zaghlul was interviewed in person, and he was reminded by the British Commander-in-Chief that martial law still obtained and that under its ordinances there were unpleasant penalties for those who conjured up civil strife.

Zaghlul, although shaken, returned to the attack the next day, but in the interim Whitehall had spoken. He was quietly arrested with three of his principal lieutenants, placed on a British destroyer, and escorted to Malta.

Fuad had foreseen the consequences of action such as this, and he had been wise not to attempt measures on his own responsibility. If he had done so it is certain that his Palace would have been stormed. Even as it was, his hand was suspected to be behind the deportations, and for many days it was deemed ad-

visible that Fuad should not show his face upon the streets of the capital.

The day after the arrests the students left their desks and paraded the streets. By the evening, many buildings had been fired, and the worst elements of the Muski were out and abroad and spreading terror. When dawn came on March 10, the crowds, vastly augmented, were still rampaging, burning, pillaging and looting. The military had to be called out, and clashes between the armed forces and angry crowds were many. The next day, in order further to mark popular disapproval, all officials left their posts, all lawyers deserted the courts, and the disorders spread to the provinces. The military had to be called out to repel attacks on railway stations, and at three centres, they were compelled to fire.

Within a week railway lines all over the country had been torn up, culverts had been destroyed, telegraph wires had been pulled down, and Cairo was cut off from the rest of Egypt. Alexandria was given over to the mob, and the country was aflame. Two British officers and five other ranks, and an Inspector of Prisons were murdered in the most brutal circumstances, and the hold of the military was precarious.

The British officers and men had been murdered in the train at Deirut, and had been left in the train. News of the outrage spread like wildfire, and wherever the train halted, tremendous and maddened crowds fought for a view of the mutilated remains. Elsewhere, British residents had to band together for safety, and in many cases had to fight for their lives.

Nothing is more certain than that had Fuad attempted to cope with the Zaghlulists instead of easing the responsibility on to shoulders more capable of withstanding the burden, he would have been the victim of mob fury, and mob violence. Had not British punitive expeditions been despatched to restore order in a land entirely given over to the forces of disruption, the arrest of Zaghlul and his lieutenants would have spelled the end of the dynasty.

King Fuad, in his Palace in Cairo, had no delusions. The period was one of acute anxiety. He had no doubt that British arms would succeed in reproducing some semblance of quiet, but what were to be the reactions?

It was he who had suggested that Zaghlul should accompany his Prime Minister to London. It was he who had given his unqualified approval when the Prime Minister finally resigned. But with peace restored, what would Whitehall say?

Whitehall was not in the best of tempers. It believed Egypt to be ungrateful for past blessings, and nothing begets ill-feeling more quickly than a contempt for good works done.

Would Whitehall declare that Egypt had demonstrated its utter inability to manage its own affairs?

Would it maintain that the King had betrayed his trust, and require him to abdicate?

King Fuad had plenty to occupy his thoughts, and he had no Ministry upon whom to lean.

Fortunately for Fuad, Whitehall found itself completely puzzled by the turn of events, and in its ex-

tremity it too shelved responsibility. It summoned Lord Allenby, and told him to go to Cairo as High Commissioner. It presented the Field Marshal with what to all intents and purposes was a blank cheque.

Here King Fuad was doubly fortunate, for Lord Allenby and he knew one another, and there was a mutual regard between the two. In the field Lord Allenby was known as a vigorous thruster who conceived an end, and went after it. Outside his uniform, he was a kindly, religious-minded man who would seek out the fields of compromise rather than provoke conflict. He had seen so much of war that he was appalled by war. He steadfastly believed that nothing was worth war, and he was contemptuous of those who engineered the circumstances which made for war.

As soon as Lord Allenby arrived in Cairo, King Fuad and he discussed the situation. Lord Allenby requested Fuad to issue a proclamation in which he said that, inspired by the noble precedent of the great Mohamed Ali who had himself assumed the throne in most troublous times, he would strive for the welfare and prosperity of Egypt. At the same time he earnestly recommended his countrymen to avoid all disturbance and excitement.

On the following day King Fuad and the High Commissioner again met in conclave, when the King gave it as his opinion that the only way to achieve some measure of tranquillity was for the British to devise means for entering into negotiation with the recalcitrant elements.

On March 31, Lord Allenby issued a proclamation

announcing that the time had come when "responsible Egyptians should submit to him a statement showing what steps they consider necessary to restore tranquillity and content".

Before he issued that proclamation Lord Allenby was aware of the character of the preliminary steps which would have to be taken to restore this tranquillity. In the heart-to-heart talk which he had had with Fuad, the King had pleaded for the release of Zaghlul and his compatriots. He was convinced that in this step lay the only means of restoring his own popularity as well as public tranquillity, and he convinced Lord Allenby also.

On April 7, 1919, a proclamation appeared over the signature of the High Commissioner, announcing that Zaghlul was to be released from Malta and was free to travel where he pleased.

In Great Britain this was interpreted as a surrender to the forces of insurrection, but Great Britain was too far divorced from Egyptian sentiment adequately to gauge public opinion. Actually, it was a wise and statesmanlike move, and calm was restored. Officials gradually resumed their duties, and a new cabinet was formed under Mohamed Said Pasha.

In a further effort to bring about normality, Fuad had other interviews with Lord Allenby in which he found the Field Marshal receptive to suggestions. On Fuad's initiative, the British were induced to leave the legal proceedings relative to the disorders to the civil courts and to commute the sentences already passed by military tribunals.

Any man not a soldier, and a successful soldier, would have found it impossible to accomplish that which Lord Allenby did. With a professional politician or diplomat in the saddle at the Residency it would have been said, and with much reason, that the hand of violence had been raised and that Egypt must be taught that violence does not pay.

If Lord Allenby had been more loyally supported from Whitehall and more deference had been shown to his views, much future ill-feeling might easily have been avoided, and the events of 1919 might soon have fallen into obscurity.

It has to be remembered that almost at the same time that Egypt was given over to lawlessness, a similar reign of disorder was in progress in India. In that country the British authorities, once peace was restored, did their utmost to wipe from memory the dark events of insurrection and its inevitable aftermath. In Egypt, the lesson had still to be learned. Lord Allenby rightly judged the situation. He saw that the time had gone for temporising, and that no matter what were the preoccupations of the British Government, the problem of Egypt had to be faced and an honest attempt made to discover a solution.

It was King Fuad who so quickly brought him to this view. Lord Allenby was able to temper action with discretion. After having announced that Zaghlul would be released, the return of officials to their duties was tardy. When necessary the Field Marshal could crack the whip. He issued a proclamation in which he reminded Egyptians that he had considerable

powers under the martial law still obtaining. He added, almost with a touch of nonchalance, that all officials who had failed to return to their desks by the next day would be deemed to have resigned.

On the following morning, they were all there. The same with the students. These young persons were told that unless they went back to their studies their schools would be closed. These incidents, however, were minor skirmishes. Lord Allenby realised that the real trial of strength was yet to come. Sooner or later Whitehall would have to be convinced that Egypt demanded and expected action, and sympathetic action. He hoped that it would be soon. He applied all his energies to achieving this end in the belief and the knowledge that the great majority of Egyptians desired a reconciliation with Great Britain. He believed that once a poultice had been applied to the political sore, all would eventually be well.

CHAPTER NINE

KING IN ACTION

THROUGHOUT THE YEAR 1919, Egyptian agitation continued unabated, and the country which had pinned so much faith on America and the principle of self-determination found, to its considerable chagrin, that the United States Government was drawing into its shell and was by no means prepared to take the prominent part in international affairs envisaged by President Wilson.

After considerable delays, Whitehall decided to despatch to Egypt a Commission of Inquiry under the presidency of Lord Milner, and its arrival in Egypt, instead of convincing the Egyptians that their case was at last to be considered, only precipitated a further crisis.

In April, 1919, Lord Allenby had been pressing upon the British Government the desirability of issuing an announcement to the effect that a Commission was being constituted. He took this course after consultation with King Fuad, who was desperately anxious that some means be found to allay popular feeling.

Fuad made it clear to Lord Allenby, and Lord Allenby concurred, that if the situation was to be met,

swift action was essential. Lord Allenby told the British Government that it was imperative that the Commission should set out by the middle of May. Lord Allenby was informed that "for various reasons", Lord Milner could not depart until the month of December.

There is always a political lull in Eastern countries during the period of the hot weather, and both King Fuad and Lord Allenby wanted the Commission in situ before the months of lassitude gave way to the vigour and spirit induced by the revitalising climate of Egypt's late summer and autumn. Fuad believed that he could maintain tranquillity during the enervating months of June and July, but once July was over he saw a recrudescence of violent agitation unless definite decisions had been taken. The Eastern mind can appreciate a decision. It is suspicious and scornful of indecision and flux.

King Fuad was correct in his reading of events, for in August strikes broke out in Cairo and in Alexandria, and another wave of violent anti-British propaganda swept the country.

Much of this anti-British spirit was built on the attitude of Great Britain and France toward Turkey, and the situation so developed that both King Fuad and Lord Allenby came to the conclusion that as the Commission had failed to take opportunity of the hot weather lull it would now be better if it remained in England until peace terms with Turkey had been finally indicated. If delay had been the order of the day in Whitehall, however, further delays were not

to be countenanced and Lord Milner and his colleagues set sail.

The mission landed in an atmosphere that could not have been more troubled. Considerable impetus was given to the extremist movement by the very large Italian colony in Egypt. The pre-War census of foreigners, had shown 34,926 Italians to be in Egypt as against 20,653 British. Of all countries in troubled Europe, Italy was experiencing the most violent emotional phase. The name of Benito Mussolini was just coming to the fore, and the Italians are not of that order who confine their politics to their own country. Italy, of course, had never recognised the declaration of a protectorate over Egypt, and the Italians in Egypt were quite as active in remoulding the Socialist fabric as they were in their own country.

Every Egyptian of the extremist class firmly believed that the new Turkey which was arising from the embers of the old Ottoman Empire would come to the assistance of self-determination in Egypt, and that a very considerable backing for the movement could be expected from Italy.

The Prime Minister, Mohamed Said Pasha, who had been fearful of the effects of the Mission's presence at such a juncture, and who had continually appealed to the King to delay its advent, deemed it expedient to lay down his portfolio when news of Lord Milner's departure was announced. He had reason. Much better than Lord Allenby, and much better than the King, he knew the temper of the Nationalist

extremists. The order had gone round that the Mission was to be boycotted, and that no Egyptian was to appear before it. The Prime Minister knew that this was not mere idle propaganda and no lightly uttered threat. Two of his successors who, with considerable fortitude, consented to form a Government during the period of Lord Milner's stay in Egypt, had attempts made on their lives. Bombs were thrown, and escape in each instance was narrow. Their very appearance upon the streets was sufficient to create a riot, and wherever they went on tour disorder was certain to follow in their train.

It was in no happy frame of mind that King Fuad extended a welcome to Lord Milner and his colleagues. He regarded them as very unwelcome guests, whose very obvious unpopularity would react unfavourably upon his own not very satisfactory position.

The Milner Mission was housed in the Hotel Semiramis, and there it was in a virtual state of siege. For several weeks none of its members was able to venture abroad without a considerable armed escort, and security and privacy within the hotel could only be maintained by posting armed sentries at every door, machine-guns at every corner, and snipers at strategic places on the roof in order to intimidate those whose pleasure it might be to snipe from surrounding buildings.

King Fuad had to take similar precautions in his Palace, and his guards were materially strengthened.

Members of the Milner Mission, tiring of their forced inactivity, did at length go abroad, but they

did so only at considerable risk. On more than one occasion there was a growling mob at their heels, and safety was only reached after circuitous detours through dirty winding lanes, the members of the British Royal Commission being led from the vengeance of the mob by some frightened, ill-dressed street gamin.

Sometimes members of the Mission would find themselves conveyed in closed cars to secret meeting places where interviews would take place with unknown persons, and usually in whispers. The persons who had consented to give the Mission their views were afraid to come out into the light, and the assistance which Lord Milner and his colleagues obtained in the early days of their stay was given clandestinely, and by subterfuge.

Before the arrival of the Mission an indication had been given of what might be expected if its members neglected to take precautions. Three weeks before it descended upon Cairo, the President, the Vice-President and the Secretary of the Wafd Committee had been arrested in order to remove from the scene the more able of the Nationalist leaders.

As a reprisal, Captain Cohen of the Labour Corps was shot near the Shoubra Hospital, five British soldiers were fired upon near the Railway Institute in Cairo and three British officers were attacked in close proximity to the Abbassieh main guard. A few days later two other British officers were fired upon at Pont Limun Station.

The Mission's terms of reference were to "inquire

into the causes of the late disorders in Egypt and to report on the existing situation in the country and the form of constitution which under the Protectorate, will be best calculated to promote its peace and prosperity, the progressive development of self-governing institutions, and the protection of foreign interests."

These phrases would have cast their spell on an Egypt of 1918. Egypt to the end of 1919 was in no mood to listen to anything but a clear-cut decision of complete independence.

Not only were the Nationalists behind the claim, but Egypt as a whole, hence the absolute character of the boycott to which the Mission was subjected.

Lord Milner, himself a Cabinet Minister, and one with previous experience of Egypt, found himself in a quandary. He had many interviews with King Fuad, and he found that while the King deprecated the attacks which were being made upon Europeans, he was obstinately on the side of independence. With him in this were his Ministers. On the points which Lord Milner wished to reserve from the discussions he found that the King maintained the utmost reserve, and quite refused to commit himself to definite opinions. In this the King, and those with him, were maintaining an attitude dictated by a cruel expediency. The Prime Minister had already narrowly escaped with his life, and no one could say where the next bomb was to fall.

The temper of the country was violently anti-British, and Fuad, if he was to maintain his throne,

had to exercise care over every syllable. He must say nothing that could be construed by an agile mind into something which sapped even in the slightest degree from the main tree of complete independence. No matter what were his personal inclinations—and there is no doubt that he was sincere when he said that nothing less than independence would satisfy him or his countrymen—he could not afford to compromise, because quite apart from the unanimous expression of popular opinion the members of his own family had gone over to the side of extreme opinion. Six Princes of his family joined in a popular demand for the complete withdrawal of the British from Egypt, and any one of these Princes might have had designs on the throne.

This period was one of extreme and acute anxiety for Fuad, more especially as he realised that there were spies even within his own camp. Any incautious word, any innocent gesture, was liable to be seen and interpreted by those who were constantly watching.

The position, as far as Lord Milner was concerned, was one of complete deadlock, and he realised quite soon that concessions would have to be made to popular opinion. Lord Milner, within a fortnight of his arrival in Cairo, tore up his terms of reference which were to report on the form of the constitution under the Protectorate, and declared his intention of reconciling the aspirations of the Egyptian people with the special interests of Great Britain.

This was the beginning of the rout as far as Great Britain was concerned. Eventually, Lord Milner

and his colleagues came to the conclusion that "no settlement could be satisfactory which was simply imposed by Great Britain upon Egypt, but that it would be wiser to seek a solution by means of a bilateral agreement."

King Fuad was more than agreeable to a proper legalised treaty between Great Britain and his country, but unfortunately, a situation had developed when the King could no longer speak for his people, even though he was at one with his Ministry. Zaghlul and his partisans had achieved such a wide measure of control over the popular mind that any agreement which did not have Zaghlul Pasha as a subscriber was doomed to failure. Reluctantly, King Fuad agreed to Lord Milner's suggestion that *pourparlers* be opened with Zaghlul, and Zaghlul being in Europe, the Milner Mission returned to London with such poor material as it had been able to gather as a basis for its report.

Soon the Mission found itself in the fierce combat of bargaining, and it might have assumed from the very beginning that it had reached the end. Alternately, the Mission found itself trapped into commitments which it had not the slightest intention of acceding, and being forced, by tortuous bargaining, to recede from positions which it had declared in no circumstances could it give up.

Moreover, in dealing with Zaghlul, the Mission had an adversary who was as elusive as he was mentally agile. Never did the Mission succeed in meeting him face to face and pinning him down to set question

and answer. All had to be done through intermediaries, and in those rare instances where he in turn was forced to agree to a point, his distance from the scene of active operations allowed him to declare that his attitude was one of unbending "reserve".

While these negotiations were proceeding in Europe, other kaleidoscopic changes were taking place in Cairo. Mohamed Said Pasha, who had been Prime Minister when the Milner Mission had set out, and who had resigned in the face of Nationalist menace, conceived a strong personal hostility to Zaghlul, and this was sufficient not only for him incontinently to pour scorn on anything which Zaghlul might accomplish, but to change his attitude in relation to the King.

He joined the Royalist camp opposed to the Palace, and when word of what was being done in London reached Cairo, he induced several of the Princes once again to enter the political field and to issue a manifesto declaring that the tentative proposals of the Milner Mission were capable of only one construction, and that they were a restriction upon Egyptian independence.

This manifesto caused King Fuad the most acute embarrassment, and his anger was the more exhausting because it could not be openly displayed. His own reaction to the manifesto was that the Princes were taking an unwarrantable step in allying themselves with the extremist forces, and one which could only have been dictated by opportunism. Fuad always had a lively distrust of the more extreme of Egyptians,

and he considered that his relatives were guilty of *mauvais ton* in thus seeking the limelight.

The action of the Princes was also one which tended to minimise the dignity of the King and to detract from that position of leadership with caution which he was doing his utmost to foster. Fuad's own attitude in respect to the Milner Mission is adequately reflected in a letter written by Lord Allenby at the time. This letter accompanied a communication from the High Commissioner to the King, following upon several interviews. It was in March, 1921 that the British Government officially acknowledged that "the Protectorate no longer constituted a satisfactory relationship in which Egypt should remain in regard to Great Britain" and Lord Allenby requested Fuad to appoint an official delegation for the purpose of negotiating an agreement with Great Britain.

In his covering letter Lord Allenby wrote :

"YOUR HIGHNESS,

I have not failed to bring to the knowledge of His Majesty's Government the opinion which Your Highness has frequently expressed regarding the necessity for the Government to come to a decision on the subject of the recommendations of the Milner Mission which could be in harmony with the aspirations toward which the sympathetic views of Your Highness are furthermore well known."

A decision during these years was what the situation lacked, and the vacillation of the British Government

did more to undermine the position and prestige of the King than any intrigue in his own country. Fuad knew that his countrymen were awake to the political possibilities of their times. He knew that in respect to Egypt, Whitehall still had its head in the files of Victorian times and was quite unable to visualise a people impatient of bear-leading and thoroughly contemptuous of any mission of emancipation. Whitehall could not see that in Egypt there was a virile force which had no desire for the tuition in constitutionalism which Great Britain was so anxious to impart. Whitehall, confident in the reflection that it had a mission in Egypt, took inspiration from the tracts which adorned its walls, and endeavoured to temporise.

King Fuad had to steer a course between Great Britain's Victorian concept of the righteousness of her desire, and the unassailable character of her right to perform good works, and the nervous, mis-directed efforts of so many of his countrymen to lay the course in a direction diametrically opposite.

Great Britain had pledged herself to search for a solution of Egypt's difficulties which would harmonise with the essential interests of Great Britain with the independence of Egypt, but she dallied shamelessly.

The opportunity to create harmony was lost when opportunities were presented to Zaghlul to enlarge his sphere of activities, and to claim the attention of the masses. That was in 1920. A whole year was to be lost before the Milner Mission was to visit Cairo, and then Whitehall only allowed it to proceed with every sign of bad humour. And even then Whitehall made

a fatal blunder. Instead of reserving those points which touched upon essential British interests, it allowed Lord Milner to embark upon negotiations which shrouded the whole issue.

If, in 1921, the British Government had declared that Great Britain was determined to reserve certain points, and to accord Egypt independence within the orbit of these, there is every reason to believe that Egypt would have accepted the situation and her new constitution could have been framed in an atmosphere practically tranquil. As it was, the King, now admittedly unpopular, found himself battling against the autocratic violence of the Zaghlulists at every turn.

The Milner Mission completed its labours in 1920, but it was not until 1921 that its report was forwarded to Lord Allenby with a request from the Government that an official delegation be sent from Cairo for the purposes of consultation before the Government committed themselves to a decision on the recommendations.

The Milner Mission, working as it did under the Presidency of a British Cabinet Minister, had already embarked far upon the field of negotiation, and Egyptians were not slow to see the omission in this communication from the British Government of any hint of approval of the recommendations.

Lord Allenby, after an interview with the King, who was as alive as anyone else to the dangers to be attached to the situation, lost not a moment in acquainting Mr. Lloyd George of the facts. Mr. Lloyd

George, however, who was singularly to fail in his appreciation of Eastern mentality in Palestine, Turkey, Egypt, and India, was reluctant to commit himself in any direction, and another opportunity to secure some semblance of harmony was lost.

As Mr. Lloyd George had created discord in India because of what he would do to Turkey, and had allowed Greece to embark upon another costly war with Angora, so his complete inability to read the situation paved the way for a further outburst of violence in Egypt, and violence against which King Fuad could do nothing. Zaghlul was the popular idol, and anyone who was even faintly critical of his activities must perforce run the gambit of mob disapproval. At that time Egypt would cheerfully have seen the dynasty washed away in the Nile floods and a new Egypt, revolutionary and fiercely self-determinate, rise in its stead with Zaghlul presiding over a new Washington.

Over a chaotic confusion of Egyptian thought Fuad had to pretend to a mastery which he did not possess. He had to watch a world, completely disorganised by the blessings of "Peace", readjusting itself to conditions which had changed out of all knowledge while the nations were at war. Wherever he looked he could see trouble.

In Italy, which he knew so well, there was growing a force which threatened to topple his old friend Emmanuel from his throne. In the United States of America, an outspoken people was busily engaged in refuting all the nobly expressed ideals of President

Wilson. In Great Britain, as far as he, personally, was concerned, he could only watch the issue with acute apprehension.

No one better than Fuad knew that the British public, who would have, in the end, to give its approval to the recommendations of the Milner Mission, had been left absolutely unprepared for that which was to come. The British public, taking its cue from the Government, had for many years regarded Egypt, not only as a dependency, but as an integral part of the sacrosanct British Empire. It was to receive a shock when the Milner report was made known, and King Fuad could not visualise the outcome.

To add to the difficulties in this direction, Lord Milner resigned as soon as he presented his report to the British Government, and there was no one in the Palace of St. Stephen's armed with the necessary knowledge to defend his somewhat revolutionary proposals or to explain to a bewildered Parliament the chain of tangled circumstances which the report was designed to unravel.

Nearer at home King Fuad found little cause for complacency.

There were many in Egypt at the time, who, now quite openly intrigued with the powerful Princes of his own family, there were a dozen others who could claim some priority of right when it came to naming the delegation which should go to England and consult with the British Government, there was his own Ministry, and finally, the Legislative Assembly, and—Zaghlul.

In despatching a delegation to England, Fuad had to select men of merit as well as those in the public esteem, and the two qualities are not always synonymous. He spent many weary hours evolving lists of names, but the evolution of a delegation seemed almost as difficult as the main negotiations threatened to be.

As soon as Fuad announced the personnel of the delegation, some untoward occurrence would wreck his carefully laid schemes. No sooner, for instance, had he announced that Mazlum Pasha should head the delegation, than Mazlum Pasha resigned, and new plans had to be made. This resulted in the formation of a new Ministry, and Adly Pasha, who was the principal figure among the Liberal element, and upon whom the British leaned with the greatest favour, became Prime Minister. The formation of such a Ministry brought another wave of crises in its train, for no sooner did Zaghlul sense the danger of a Liberal in high office than he issued a manifesto in which he demanded a majority for the Wafd upon the delegation. The result was another impasse, for neither a Liberal Ministry nor the British Government could be expected to bow down to such a condition.

This did not end Fuad's difficulties, for he did not regard Adly Pasha as a friend of the Palace, and he found his presence as his principal and foremost Minister decidedly uncongenial.

In the heart of Zaghlul, now rapidly returning from Europe, in order to ensure his place, and that of his colleagues, upon the official delegation, was burn-

ing hatred of Adly Pasha. Zaghlul now saw the culmination of all his hopes, the fruit of all his strivings, and he perhaps would not have been human had he not wanted to dominate the situation. Instead, he saw a Liberal in power who would usurp all the lime-light.

When he arrived in Cairo, he got speedily to work.

He declared of Adly Pasha :

"If I work with him, it will only be when he consents to take orders directly from me and to acknowledge my undisputed supremacy."

It was easy to see in what direction Zaghlul's thoughts were inclining, and the reports which reached the Palace of his activities were particularly depressing.

Here again was a situation which might so develop that the dynasty would go, for Zaghlul, by his speech, and by his actions, was closely following precedent. He had in mind the forceful genius of Mustapha Kemal in Turkey which was nullifying the power of the Porte and was to result in the signal and undignified dismissal of a monarch, both temporal and spiritual who had a few years before been absolutely autocratic and all-powerful.

The seeds of revolution which had been sown over the years were now beginning to sprout with a vigour which was alarming. The wonderful climate of Egypt was producing an abundant crop.

King Fuad spent intervals in emulating the Sphinx at Mena, but the majority of his waking hours were devoted to the almost impossible task of bringing

about some form of compromise between his Premier and Zaghlul. In the end he gave up the struggle, and told Adly Pasha that he must compose a delegation from among his own political associates. He deferred this decision until the middle of May, 1921, because he was fearful of the reactions. Fuad had been so correct in his appreciation of popular opinion in the past that he might well hesitate to embark on a course which would further antagonise the Zaghlulists.

Again King Fuad was right. On May 18, the mob swarmed right up to the gates of the Palace, and was with difficulty dispersed by the police. Fuad, pacing his study within, heard the anti-Government cries raised by the multitude, and sought an upper window that he might watch the tumultuous scenes without. Adly Pasha was with him in the Palace, and he pointed to the swirling of the enraged mob at his gates. His comment was bitter.

"I draw distinctions between no man," he said. "I honestly strive to do my best. I believe that no man born of the people could give effective leadership because of the personal element which is so strong in Egyptians. I work all hours of the day. I work harder than any fella, and—this is the result."

There were further disorders in Cairo next day, and on May 20, the people of Alexandria indicated their displeasure of authority by burning down two police stations. Cairo, not to be outdone, indulged in one of its celebrated riots, and there were many casualties. On May 22, the Alexandrians, suddenly determining that Europeans and not the Government were re-

sponsible for the chaotic political condition of Egypt, attacked thirty Europeans and murdered fourteen. In a country so near to independence the British military authorities had once again to take charge of one of its principal cities.

When some sort of order had been restored, Adly Pasha and his delegation proceeded to London, where negotiations were to drag on throughout the remaining months of 1921.

King Fuad had only consented to the departure of Adly after the Prime Minister had pleaded at a number of interviews. Fuad had no desire to be left in Cairo to the not very tender mercies of Zaghlul who could be relied upon to make the utmost capital out of the absence of his arch-enemy. He was especially apprehensive of the future as the British had intimated that their policy was one of non-interference, and for the first time during his troubled reign he found himself without the comforting support of an alien prop.

With Adly's departure Fuad had to watch a deadly campaign waged with all the venom of personal jealousy. Zaghlul was determined that Adly Pasha should fail, and ignominiously. He had heard with considerable gratification the British declaration of non-interference, and considered that the way was now open to play the part so ably filled by Mustapha Kemal in Turkey. He launched the most violent attacks upon the Government, said things about the Palace which would have earned him the lash in the days of Ismail, was vitriolic in his denunciation of

Adly and his delegation, and terrible in his tirades against the British Government.

Matters were so allowed to drift until December, with the King becoming more and more apprehensive of the outcome.

In London the negotiations had failed on the questions of the maintenance of British troops in Egypt and the control of Egypt's foreign affairs, and Adly had returned and resigned. Believing that the supreme moment must come when he must assert himself, Zaghlul declared that he would address a mass meeting in Cairo. Faced with consequences which were practically inevitable, the British receded from their position of non-intervention, and informed Zaghlul that the meeting could not take place. Zaghlul's response was gamin-like in its directness, and he was promptly arrested and removed to Suez for deportation.

This was the signal for prompt reprisals and the same evening two British soldiers were attacked in Cairo. On the next and many subsequent days Egypt's principal cities gave themselves up to unbridled violence and there were many deaths. Before the year closed Europeans had been murdered in the streets.

Zaghlul, meanwhile, was removed to the Seychelles.

In the midst of these disturbing events, King Fuad had to strive to create a Ministry. The obvious choice was Abdel Khalek Sarwat Pasha who had acted as Adly's deputy while in London, but the matter was

not capable of a simple solution. Adly was the most influential man among the Liberals, and it could only be a Liberal who could take office at such a juncture. There are traits which are common even to the greatest, and Adly, having taken the negotiations so far in London, did not relish the thought of one lower than he in the Liberal caucus achieving all the honour and glory when this long drawn-out dispute between his country and Great Britain should be brought to a successful culmination. Consequently, Adly placed many difficulties in the path of Sarwat, and for over two months Fuad had to watch the troubled state of his country unsupported by a Ministry and entirely dependent once again on such advice as he could obtain from his Palace entourage. At the end of that time, certain difficulties with Great Britain having been removed, he prevailed upon Sarwat Pasha to become Premier.

Throughout these difficult months Lord Allenby maintained close personal contact with Fuad, and the King impressed upon the Field Marshal more and more the extreme necessity of ending a state of indecision which was liable at any moment to jeopardise his own position and to throw his country into the convulsions of civil war. Independence, he said to Lord Allenby, had been promised. Then let there be independence immediately, and the other matters at issue could be settled at a later date.

On January 12, 1922, Lord Allenby wrote to the Secretary of State a draft letter which he asked permission to send to the King. The letter announced

that "His Majesty's Government were prepared to abolish the Protectorate without waiting to prepare the terms of a treaty and to recognise Egypt's sovereign independence". Lord Allenby requested that the Secretary of State should regard the matter as one of extreme urgency. Six weeks were, however, allowed to pass before the British Government were to intimate that they were attaching the "greatest weight" to Lord Allenby's opinion, and for the moment it appeared that this was meant in the broadest maritime sense.

Lord Allenby replied and said: "If His Majesty's Government will not take my advice now they throw away all chance of having a friendly Egypt in our time."

With this letter Lord Allenby offered his resignation, which was not accepted, and shortly afterwards he proceeded to London to add the weight of his presence to his written arguments.

No sooner had Lord Allenby left Egypt, and Fuad was denied the presence of a very staunch counsellor, than a British private was shot in Cairo, to be followed in quick succession by the murder of civilian Europeans. In the shortest possible time (February 28, 1922) Lord Allenby returned to his charge and immediately made the following declaration:

"Whereas His Majesty's Government, in accordance with their declared intention, desire forthwith to recognise Egypt as an independent sovereign State; and whereas the relations between His

Majesty's Government and Egypt are of vital interest to the British Empire; the following principles are hereby declared:

1. The British Protectorate over Egypt is terminated, and Egypt is declared to be an independent sovereign State.

2. So soon as the Government of His Highness shall pass an Act of Indemnity with application to all inhabitants of Egypt; Martial Law, as proclaimed on November 2, 1914, shall be withdrawn.

3. The following matters are reserved to the discretion of His Majesty's Government until such time as it may be possible by free discussion and friendly accommodation on both sides to conclude agreements in regard thereto between His Majesty's Government and the Government of Egypt:

(a) The security of the communications of the British Empire in Egypt.

(b) The defence of Egypt against all foreign aggression or interference, indirect or direct.

(c) The protection of foreign interests in Egypt and the protection of minorities.

(d) The Sudan.

Pending the conclusion of such agreements the *status quo* in all these matters shall remain intact."

All the demands which had been set out by Lord Allenby, after close consultation with King Fuad, had been met.

King Fuad, for his part, had won great concessions

and could say to his countrymen that in the final negotiations it was his influence that had predominated. His close understanding with Lord Allenby had secured action where all other means had failed.

As a personal victory it was immense, and nothing that could be advanced by Zaghlul and the Wafdists could detract from the sound statesmanship behind this *force accompli*.

Had Fuad possessed the least elements of showmanship he might have turned this very remarkable turn of events to his own advantage, but one who had been so deeply immersed in the cross-currents of Egyptian political intrigue, and had seen the fierce internecine warfare which politics could develop and, indeed, had even seen the Princes of his own family utilise the occasion for what they hoped would be their own personal advantage, could not be otherwise than a cynic.

Briefly, King Fuad was not popular. In conducting the diplomatic battle he had had to estrange faction after faction, and it is an axiom of political thought in Egypt that he who is displaced is *ipso facto* an enemy, and a bitter one, of he who succeeds.

On March 15, 1922, "His Highness the Sultan of Egypt" issued a rescript by which he proclaimed Egypt "a sovereign independent State" and assumed the titles of "Majesty" and "King of Egypt".

A salute of one hundred and one guns was fired from the historic Citadel which dominates the Egyptian capital, and similar salutes were fired throughout

the principal cities and towns of Egypt and the Sudan.

The King's announcement, and the firing of the kingly salutes was attended by no wild outburst of popular enthusiasm. Instead, the populace of many of the large towns improved the occasions with rioting, a pastime for which they had now had considerable practice.

Fuad, however, determined to ignore these manifestations of ill-will, and he entertained lavishly at the Abdin Palace. He could afford to do so, for it was arranged that he should have a civil list of £150,000 per annum, while the Royal Family's allowance was fixed at £11,512.

Great diplomatic receptions were held at the Palace at which members of the Corps Diplomatique congratulated the new sovereign.

From foreign monarchs, headed by King George V of Great Britain came messages of good will, and thus King Fuad established in fact what had already been acquired *de jure*. National aspirations should have been fulfilled. Fuad at least, felt this, for the presence of British troops in his country he regarded as a safeguard for his dynasty. With foreign relations he was not greatly interested. What he desired more than all he had attained, and that was mastery of his own house.

From henceforth, he would be a King, and not merely a ruler in name, and a figure head forced to bend to the impelling blast of opportunism and chicanery.

Fuad was King.

He knew he was unpopular, and he never expected to be otherwise. But, he would rule. He would leave his mark.

He had difficult days ahead.

CHAPTER TEN

CONFUSION WORSE CONFOUNDED

IT WAS IN an atmosphere of burning suspicion and intense feeling against the throne that King Fuad assumed the title and dignity of "Majesty".

His elevation had been preceded by the summary expulsion of Zaghlul and sundry of his associates who were now languishing in the Seychelles Islands. This action, far from favourably influencing public opinion in respect to the important change in the country's constitution, only served to strengthen the feeling of doubt and suspicion toward the ultimate intentions of Great Britain. The attitude of the Zaghlulists was one of sullen hostility toward the Palace and of dissatisfaction with a position which many Egyptians believed could be improved now that a Socialist Government had assumed charge of affairs in Great Britain.

King Fuad's policy was to maintain friendly relations with Great Britain. He was aware of the inefficiency of his army, and its complete inability to defend the country in case of need. He earnestly desired the presence of British troops, ostensibly to guard Great Britain's communications, but in reality to sustain him in the battle which would have to be waged with

the forces of Zaghulism which wanted, not a monarchy, but a constitution such as that which was being developed in Turkey.

Also, he was a partner with Great Britain in the Sudan, and it does not pay to fall out with a partner whose goodwill is desired in other directions.

Fuad, now a King, had to proceed with the utmost wariness, for a new constitution had to be evolved, and his position was one of extreme delicacy. True, the Prime Minister of Egypt had assumed responsibility for Egyptian foreign affairs, but there was little of sovereignty attaching to the new regime. The British still had their martial law, and would continue to maintain it until an act of indemnity was passed.

It was obvious from the beginning that difficulties were to be experienced in the framing of a constitution—a necessary preliminary to the passing of an act of indemnity—for those charged with the task made continual excursions into the field of reserved subjects and had as frequently to be brought sharply to heel by Lord Allenby who had to exercise a constant vigilance.

To make matters even more difficult for the King, the dread Society of Vengeance, which had already been responsible for the deaths of so many Europeans, recommenced its activities. The organiser of this society was in prison in Cairo, but such was the laxity of Egyptian control that he found no difficulty in maintaining and directing his organisation from his place of detention. Not only had he been able to bribe

his way to preferential treatment in respect to the prison amenities, but it was discovered that there was even a staff to assist him in his correspondence, and that there was no let or hindrance on those who desired to enter the prison precincts to interview him and receive orders.

So firm was the Society's organisation, and so complete the secrecy which veiled its activities; that many were led to believe that no matter what its agent did, they could always escape justice.

Five weeks after Fuad had assumed his title of "Majesty", the British Inspector of the Cairo City police was done to death in broad daylight. A few days later a British colonel was shot through both lungs almost on the steps of the British Consulate. Still later a British official attached to the Ministry of Agriculture was attacked while driving with his two children. The official and one of his children were wounded, and the coachman of his carriage was killed. In December Professor Robson of the Law School was to be shot dead in broad daylight, and in one of the main thoroughfares of Cairo.

The efforts of the Society of Vengeance drove King Fuad more and more to the conclusion that if the dynasty was to survive the constitution must be such that would accord the monarch powers beyond the ordinary. He feared a touch which was too democratic, and he commenced an intrigue within the many intrigues already obtaining which would bring the dominant power into his own hands and curb the

activities of those whose watchword was "representative" government.

The Palace was thrown once again into the maelstrom of domestic discord, and the King was so to arrange matters that at the end of the year Egypt should be a sovereign country under British martial law, and minus a constitution. A more amazing and unconstitutional position can hardly be imagined.

In the Palace, the domestic strife first centred around the head of Sarwat Pasha, the Prime Minister, with whom Fuad had always been on distant terms. Hardly a day passed without Sarwat being summoned to the Palace, there to receive the King's displeasure. Before the year was half over, King Fuad so dominated his Ministry that he was refusing to call meetings of the Council, and it was easy to see that Sarwat's days were numbered.

Intervention by Lord Allenby retarded for some time the King's demand for Sarwat's resignation, but it was patent that the King was determined that Sarwat should go. Sarwat, for his part, hung on to the fruits of office with a tenacity which was amazing, for he had only to enter Fuad's presence to become the target of criticism. It has to be admitted that the King had not far to look for subject matter, for with the King's assumption of majesty there had been a general slackening of effort throughout the country. Egyptians everywhere assumed that the old days of official lethargy had returned, and slackness and inefficiency was most marked in all Government departments. The instance of the treatment accorded to the im-

prisoned leader of the Society of Vengeance can be regarded as a case in point.

King Fuad regarded this slackening of effort as a personal insult to his own person, but in the rapidly developing chaos for which he so consistently chided Sarwat, Fuad saw a means to his own ends.

To the British, who were impatiently awaiting the formation of a constitution he was able to retort: "What kind of constitution can be framed for people such as this?"

By November Sarwat's position at the Palace, and his relations with the King became such that he had no other alternative but to resign. It is only remarkable that he had withstood the carefully calculated attitude of the ruler for so long.

His place was taken by Mohamed Tewfik Nessim Pasha, who was a close friend of His Majesty, and one who could be relied upon to accord closely to the wishes of the King.

In this first round of inter-intrigue, King Fuad had won a great victory. He had disposed of forces in his Ministry which would create a constitution far too representative for the King's liking, he had retained martial law, and had thus provided a stiffening to his own position. Moreover, he had so confounded the political elements in his own country, that more and more he reverted to despotism. True, Tewfik Nessim Pasha was there as Prime Minister, but more and more he only echoed the wishes of Fuad.

In 1923, King Fuad's personal position was becoming much stronger. He was not, however, becoming

any more popular, and he decided to make a bid for mob acclaim. This was practically his only essay toward popularity, and it was so disastrous that perhaps he hesitated to make further excursions in this direction.

In order to appease those who were making strong representations in respect to Egypt's claims to the Sudan, Fuad suddenly styled himself King of the Sudan.

Lord Allenby, as soon as this news was conveyed to him, sought an immediate interview with Fuad and he conveyed to him the sense of serious displeasure of His Britannic Majesty's Government. Fuad was told, in no uncertain words, that unless he immediately withdrew his title of King of the Sudan, and scrapped his policy of delaying the formation of a constitution, it would be necessary to "review at once, and radically", their recent declaration of Egyptian policy.

This was a tremendous set-back for Fuad, and on Lord Allenby withdrawing, he shut himself up in his study to review the situation. In less than a year he had accomplished much. He had consolidated his position as King, and had engineered an atmosphere in which his was the preponderating influence. He had, with considerable astuteness, played off his own countrymen against the British. In the struggle between the two forces, inch by inch, and little by little, he had augmented his own powers, and was evolving what he honestly considered to be best for Egypt, and that a benevolent autocracy.

His position had been built up in the shadow of

an alien army to the upkeep of which he was not called upon to subscribe. Now, the placid force which had proved so patient, and so curiously plastic, had withdrawn the velvet glove and disclosed the iron hand. And, in the hand, was an ultimatum.

Fuad pondered for many hours, but even a master of intrigue such as he could find no way out. It meant for him a tremendous loss of prestige which was especially galling to one of his temperament, but he had to agree that his short-lived period of triumph was over.

He capitulated; Tewfik Nessim Pasha was asked to hand over his seals of office, and Yehia Ibrahim Pasha was summoned to take his place with orders to proceed apace with the task of framing a constitution.

Yehia Pasha was practically an unknown. He was of no particular brand of politics, but he was a worker, and he did not lack courage.

He expedited the promulgation of the constitution, signed the Indemnity Act and secured the abolition of martial law, and saw the release of Zaghlul from the Seychelles.

When Fuad had repaired to his study after receiving the ultimatum from the hands of Lord Allenby, he had seen that acquiescence to British demands was inevitable.

The problem which lay before him was how to make capital out of a situation practically hopeless.

There was one way, and one way only. He must bridge the chasm between the throne and the Zaghlulists, and at the expense of Zaghlul.

Zaghlul was released, and that pleased the members of his party. Zaghlulists were raised to posts of authority and eminence, and that pleased the holders.

These acts undoubtedly served materially to strengthen the position of the King, for Fuad had sensed a coming trial of strength in which there would be two characters—himself and the redoubtable Nationalist leader. Fuad knew that one or other must emerge the victor, because in an Egypt as he saw it, there would not be room for both.

When Zaghlul landed in Egypt he received a welcome, but not a tumultuous welcome. The next day he had an audience with Fuad, and he was careful to maintain a temperate tone.

He too had sensed the coming struggle, and he was sufficient of a tactician to see that Fuad had already undermined some of the ground. He was feeling his way.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MONARCHY

WHEN GREAT BRITAIN ABANDONED the Protectorate, and the Khedive of Egypt became King, Fuad's first care was to establish the monarchy.

First of all the order of the succession to the throne was established by the promulgation of a Royal rescript. Until 1914, the order of succession had been in conformity with the disposition of Ottoman firmans. A firman of Rabi el-Akhar in 1841 granted the great Mohamed Ali the privilege of bequeathing the vice-royalty to his descendants in the order of primo-geniture; that is to say, the throne passed to the eldest Prince of the dynasty, and not to the eldest son of the reigning Viceroy. Hence, Abbas I, born in 1813, succeeded his eldest brother Ibrahim Pasha, born in 1789, and Mohamed Said Pasha, son of Mohamed Ali, born in 1822, succeeded his brother Abbas I, while the Khedive Ismail only succeeded to the throne in 1863, he then being the eldest Prince of the dynasty.

In 1866, the Khedive Ismail secured Turkish assent to an important change in the order of succession, and from that time onwards the Khedivate was transmitted according to the order of primogeniture,

but in the direct line of the reigning sovereign and to the exclusion of collateral branches except, of course, in the event of the extension of the direct line.

Thus, Tewfik Pasha succeeded his father, the Khedive Ismail in August, 1879, and upon the death of Tewfik Pasha, in January, 1892, it was his son, Abbas Hilmi, who came to the throne.

On December 19, 1914, the British Government declared that Abbas Hilmi had forfeited his rights, and he was replaced by Prince Hussein, who assumed the title of Sultan of Egypt.

Two years before his death Sultan Hussein secured the assent of the British Government to the following order of succession to the throne :

- (1) His only son, Prince Kemal-ad-Din, or the Sultan's brother, Prince Ahmed Fuad.
- (2) His cousin, Prince Yusuf Kemal.

It was agreed that in all circumstances the ex-Khedive Abbas and his descendants should be permanently excluded from any claim to the throne of Egypt.

Fuad, when he came to define the order of succession, materially changed the accepted principles obtaining between Great Britain and Egypt, and he let it be known that he had no intention of excluding Prince Abdel Moneim, son of Abbas Hilmi and his descendants from their rights to succeed to the throne in the event of the direct line of succession becoming extinct.

As Abbas and his descendants had a warm place

in the hearts of the people of Egypt, this decision was warmly applauded.

Other noteworthy dispositions in the rescript were those concerning the establishment of a regency in the event of a succeeding King being a minor.

It was provided that in such circumstances there would be no personal Regent, but instead, a Regency Council. Furthermore, the appointment of the Council was not to be left to chance, but was ordered in such a manner as to ensure effective control of the prerogatives of the Crown during the minority of the sovereign. Fuad also ordained that if the reigning sovereign failed to nominate a Regency Council, this should be carried out by Parliament.

Once the order of succession had been settled, it became necessary to define the status of the dynasty. Certain rules had already been established by custom and by a number of ordinances, notably the ordinances of May 16, 1901, November 23, 1910, and April 18, 1915. It was necessary, however, to co-ordinate and to complete these rules after the manner of other countries. Fuad also found it necessary to introduce special jurisdiction comprising effective guarantees of equity, impartiality and competence for the consideration of questions concerning members of the dynasty. Here he borrowed a principle common to most monarchist countries and for which he found authority in Koranic law, namely, the high authority deriving from the sovereign's functions and acknowledged in him as the head of the dynasty.

The rescript defined those members of the Royal

family who were entitled to the rank and title of Prince, and defined the rules for the hereditary transmission of this rank. Fuad laid down that no person could be a Prince of Egypt who was not of Egyptian nationality, of the Moslem religion and issue of a legal marriage. He laid down also that Princes and Princesses were subject to all the laws of their country, and that they could not marry without permission of the sovereign. Furthermore, he abrogated to himself powers in regard to the amounts attributed to members of the Royal family from the civil list.

He also made provision for the institution of a Court Council to deal with matters pertaining to the personal status of members of the dynasty. It consists of a Prince of the Royal family, the President of the Senate, the Minister of Justice, the Director of the Royal Cabinet, the Rector of Al-Azhar University, the President of the Native Court of Appeal, the President of the Supreme Mehkama, and the Grand Mufti.

To complete the organisation of the monarchy, King Fuad issued a series of rescripts modifying and restricting the award of honours. He ordained that there should be five civilian ranks in Egypt, the first being that of Riassat, which was reserved for Prime Ministers, that of Imtiaz for Ministers, that of Pasha for senior Government officials and distinguished Egyptians, and the rank of Bey in two classes for officials of various grades.

King Fuad also either revived, maintained or

created eight orders, the Grand Masterships of which he reserved for his own person.

These, in order of precedence, were the Order of Mohamed Ali, reserved for the Grand Master and reigning sovereigns, the Order of Ismail, the issue of which was to be strictly limited, the Order of the Nile, the Order of the Military Star of King Fuad designed for Egyptian and foreign officers distinguished in service of the Egyptian army, the Order of Agriculture, reserved for distinguished service in the agricultural field, the Order of Al-Kamal, reserved exclusively for ladies, the Medal for Meritorious Actions, to be awarded without distinction of sex or nationality for meritorious service to the State, and the Medal of Duty, to be conferred upon policemen and others who distinguished themselves in maintaining public security.

King Fuad also applied himself to the minor problems of the flags and coats of arms of the State.

Until the abolition of the Turkish suzerainty in 1914, the Egyptian flag was similar to the Ottoman flag—a white star and crescent upon a red field except that the Egyptian flag had three stars instead of one. Under the Sultanate from 1914 onwards, the Egyptian flag remained red in colour, but had three crescents and three stars in the centre. Following the proclamation of independence a new flag was adopted. This was green in colour with one white crescent and three white stars.

A decree of the same time also defined the coats of arms and the seal of the State.

Finally, a rescript, issued in 1923, defined the form of the Royal flag and that of the standards of the King and the Crown Prince. The Royal flag is similar to that of the national flag, with the addition of a crown at the upper angle of the pendant. The Royal standard is square, and blue in colour. It bears the great coat of arms of the State in the centre and is surrounded by the Grand Collar of the Order of Mohamed Ali and has a Royal crown at each angle. The standard of the Crown Prince is similar to the Royal standard, except that it has two points, and bears no crowns at the angles.

King Fuad experienced no difficulty in defining these measures, but as has been seen, those bearing upon the creation of a constitution were many and various.

Following upon Lord Allenby's visit to the Palace, the Premier was ordered to create the necessary machinery without delay. The work was entrusted to a commission of thirty-two members.

In the preamble of the rescript establishing the constitutional regime (April 19, 1923), King Fuad declared that since his accession he had made every endeavour for the welfare of his people and to conduct the nation along the path of happiness toward the acquirement of those advantages possessed by free and civilised peoples; that this end could be reached only through the intermediary of a constitutional regime corresponding with modern requirements and designed to ensure a happy, prosperous and untrammelled existence for the nation, guarantee-

ing the effective participation of the nation in the administration of public affairs, inspiring calm confidence both in the present and in the future, at the same time protecting national sentiment and the peculiar characteristics which are the glorious heritage of the Egyptian peoples; that such had ever been His Majesty's ideal and the principal object of his endeavours, that the nation might rise to the rank to which its past, its intelligence, and its capacities gave it the right to aspire, and that the nation might worthily occupy the place to which it was entitled among the great nations.

As defined by the constitution, Egypt was a sovereign, free, and independent State; its sovereign rights were indivisible and inalienable, its Government was that of a hereditary monarchy of a representative type.

All Egyptians were equal before the law, and individual liberty was guaranteed. Domicile and property were inviolable, and liberty of conscience was absolute. Liberty of opinion was assured, and the press was free within the limits of the law.

Elementary education was compulsory for both sexes.

All authority derived from the nation, and legislative power was to be exercised by the King concurrently with the Senate, and the Chamber of Deputies. It was laid down that the King exercised his power through the intermediary of his Ministers.

Two-fifths of the members of the Senate were to be nominated by the King, and the remainder elected

by universal suffrage on the basis of one Senator for 180,000 inhabitants. Deputies were to be elected by universal suffrage on the basis of one Deputy for 60,000 inhabitants.

The King could, on the advice of the Government, dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, but not twice for the same reason.

No tax might be introduced, altered or suppressed, except by virtue of a law.

The budget statement must be approved by Parliament.

Islam was to be the established religion of the State, and Arabic the official language.

The constitution applied to the kingdom of Egypt, but without prejudice to the rights of Egypt in the Sudan.

In the rescript introducing the constitution, King Fuad expressed the hope that it would mark the happy commencement of an era of progress and prosperity for the nation.

The President of the Council, in the official declaration which he issued with the promulgation of the constitution, was careful to point out the part which His Majesty had played in its framing.

"It is my pleasant duty to add," he said, "that whilst the draft of the constitution was being studied, I frequently had the honour of informing His Majesty the King of the results of the Cabinet's discussions, and that I ever encountered the warmest sympathy from His Majesty, and an ever liberal reception of all the proposals which I had the honour of submitting

to him. The always judicious comments which His Majesty occasionally formulated, have been inspired without exception by that innate love which His Majesty bears for his people, and by his deep and constant desire to aid the realisation of national aspirations, by endowing Egypt with a constitution worthy of the country and of the high rank which His Majesty wishes with all his heart the country to occupy amongst free and civilised nations."

He concluded by expressing the hope that Egyptians who had astonished the world by the magnificent development of their national effort, would astonish the world still more by their rapid and complete assimilation of the parliamentary regime, and by their profound attachment to the first constitutional King of Egypt.

It is to be feared that these tactful words, both from the King and the President of the Council fell upon barren ground. The world was to be astonished, but not by the manner in which Egypt assimilated the parliamentary regime.

Zaghlul, to some the stormy petrel of Egyptian politics, had returned.

In a sense, he had seen his position undermined by the efforts of the King. All the speeches, and all the actions of Fuad were designed to further that end. Yet, within a week of returning from exile and his exceedingly chaste bearing when summoned to the presence of His Majesty, the realisation of his own power returned to him with full vigour, and, as vehemently as before, he was attacking the con-

stitution, the British, and the Liberals. By innuendo, he was also attacking the Palace.

King Fuad was furious, and relapsed into one of his ungovernable rages when it was advisable for the Palace entourage to keep its distance.

Zaghlul was all for revising the constitution, and in a manner which would render the sovereign a cypher.

The battle between Egypt's two outstanding personalities of modern times had been joined.

CHAPTER TWELVE

ZAGHLUL

WITH THE PROMULGATION of the constitution, elections became necessary, and Zaghlul made it clear that he intended absolutely to wreck Egypt's present conception of independence. The status, as defined by the British Government, he characterised as the barest "fiction", but until the elections were over, he was careful to reserve the more deadly of his broadsides for his personal enemies in the persons of Adly Pasha and Sarwat Pasha to whom had attached some of the kudos for bringing about the declaration of independence. He did this because he was anxious not to incur the wrath of the British at this juncture, or the displeasure of the sovereign. He had had a taste of exile, and had found it bitter.

First degree elections took place toward the end of 1923 and the subsequent ballots early in 1924.

While Egypt was in the turmoil of its first great election campaign, Zaghlul had more than one interview with General Allenby, and curious as it may seem on the surface, the pair got on extraordinarily well together. In this Zaghlul had an affinity with other extreme politicians who have battled with the British. I have in mind Pandit Motilal Nehru of the

Indian Congress party, who was a bitter antagonist, and a biting critic of most things British. Yet, when not upon the public platform, he was a mild and courteous gentleman, with whom many Englishmen, many of them high officials who were frequently the target for his barbs, did not find it inconsistent with their dignity to be great friends.

So it was with Zaghlul. His policy induced bloodshed, but he himself was vigorously opposed to violent measures outside the purely political field. He was kindly, and even humorous, and he exercised a personal spell over friends and enemies alike. At heart he was not an anti-British fanatic. All he wanted was a complete break with Great Britain, and among his intimates he would frequently speak of the days when he worked with amity with British officials. He had the greatest liking for the temperament of the British as represented by the individual. He was at war with things British, and not with the British.

Moreover, in order to obtain the eminence which he did, he had to subscribe to a course of conduct which crippled him as an administrator. He could not recede, as did the Socialist Government of Great Britain which, when in power, was Conservative in all but name, especially where it touched upon foreign relations.

Zaghlul, when he found himself with a great majority as a result of these first elections, found his actions circumscribed by a public opinion which expected, and in fact demanded, that he should practise what he had so gaily preached. English people, who refuse

to take their politics seriously, except under the spur of national danger, will find it difficult to understand or appreciate his position.

In England, a party can be returned to office on an issue, and this issue can be relegated to the dim and distant future if the politician, with a show of candour, proceeds to admit, in the face of responsibilities of office, that the "time is not yet ripe". Having only a lukewarm interest in Parliament at the best, and a disposition to regard elections as a necessary, but inconvenient incursion in the time which can be better devoted to business and trade, the Englishman will accept the situation with the reservation that he will vote for some other person when next he has to drag lethargic and unwilling steps to the polling booth. Not so in Egypt, where politics are the breath of life.

Zaghlul secured an overwhelming majority at the elections, and in January, 1924, Fuad reluctantly accepted the resignation of Yehia Pasha from the position of Prime Minister.

On January 27, Zaghlul had his hour of triumph. He was requested by King Fuad to form a Cabinet.

On March 15, the first Egyptian Parliament was solemnly inaugurated by King Fuad.

In his speech from the throne, Fuad rendered thanks to God for the fulfilment of one of his dearest desires, and of one of the principal hopes of the nation.

His Majesty congratulated the members of Parliament upon the confidence which had been placed in them, and expressed the hope that they would bring

to bear a spirit of prudence, wisdom and circumspection in the accomplishment of the difficult task which had fallen to them, and upon the issue of which depended the very future of the country.

The Zaghlulists entered upon their administration in the spirit of the wildest exaltation, because the stars in their courses indicated that all was well. By an amazing chance Zaghlul's rise to power coincided with the advent of the first British Socialist Government, and speeches from the Labour benches in St. Stephen's, and the statements of the many Labour politicians who had visited Egypt, caused all good Zaghlulists to lean to the conclusion that all they had to do was to ask. To ask was tantamount to receiving.

Englishmen cannot understand Oriental politics. British politics are beyond the conception of an Oriental.

There were in prison in Egypt more than one hundred and fifty persons who had been sentenced under martial law in connection with bomb and other outrages.

Zaghlul asked that these offenders should be released. Zaghlul, knowing the repugnance of British people in general to all crimes of violence, expected even from a Socialist Government, a reply which meandered along the tortuous roads of diplomatic negation to a blunt refusal, and he was amazed when he received Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's prompt reply which stated that all might be released without exception, provided no danger to public security would result.

Emboldened by this, Zaghlul turned his attention to the British servants of the State, many of whom were retiring because of the changed conditions of their tenure, and to whom, it had been arranged, suitable indemnities should be paid.

Zaghlul decided that it would be unnecessary to pay these British officers their indemnities, and he expressed the belief that the British Government, under the benevolent tutelage of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, would not insist upon the strict application of the law.

Zaghlul began to demand early negotiations with Great Britain in respect to the interpretation to be placed upon certain aspects of the proclamation of independence. At the same time he gave inspiration and financial support to Egyptian propaganda in the Sudan. In the Sudan his activities resulted in serious disorders. The cadets at the military school at Khartoum got out of hand and the Egyptian Railway battalion at Atbar mutinied and was not brought to a sense of its responsibilities until fired upon by Arab mounted infantry. To make capital out of this incident, Zaghlul issued a cleverly worded statement in which it was made to appear that the actual firing had been carried out by British troops.

An attempt was made at this time to murder Zaghlul, and it was very nearly successful. He escaped by the barest margin, but it says much for his personal courage when it is said that he laughed at his adventure.

He proceeded to London immediately after the

attack upon his person to conduct negotiations with Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. In London, after various delays, he told the Socialist Prime Minister that his Ministry would be satisfied with nothing less than the withdrawal of the British army from Egypt and of the British financial and judicial advisers, disappearance of every vestige of British control, and that the British Government should drop all claim to protect foreigners, minorities, and the Suez Canal.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, with that delightful sophistry which so became him on occasions, announced that "Zaghlul Pasha is returning shortly to Egypt in view of the inclement weather".

When Zaghlul returned to Cairo, he at once forced the issue with King Fuad with whom he had a number of stormy interviews at the Palace. The two realised that they were rivals, each jockeying for position, and Zaghlul, to gain his ends, did not hesitate to create an atmosphere which encouraged a series of disorderly demonstrations now directly hostile to the dynasty and to King Fuad in particular.

Zaghlul painted the King as an intriguer with the British, but Fuad, with longer sight than Zaghlul, could see that the time was not far off when there would be a stiffening of the British attitude. For the moment, he had to surrender to the shock tactics of Zaghlul, but Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had left the Foreign Office, and his place had been taken by Mr. Austen Chamberlain.

On November 19 there occurred a crime which was to shake Egypt to its foundations and seriously

to affect the continued relations between Great Britain and Egypt.

Sir Lee Stack, Sirdar of the Egyptian army, was mortally wounded by revolver shots near the Ministry of Education in Cairo.

His attackers succeeded in escaping in motor cars which were awaiting them near the scene of the crime.

The murder profoundly shocked Lord Allenby, who, throughout a trying period of office had refused to become ruffled by a long series of disturbing events, and he considered that the time had come when Egypt should be taught that murder was useless and did not pay.

He demanded an apology, the punishment of the murderers, the payment of half a million sterling as an indemnity, and to various measures in the Sudan.

Lord Allenby followed up his first demands with another in which he set out the specific requirements of his proposals for the administration of the Sudan. These measures were subsequently amended by London to the following:

Apology.

Punishment.

All Egyptian officers and units to be withdrawn from the Sudan.

Remaining units to be constituted into a Sudan defence force.

Annual payment of one million pounds by Egypt in respect to the services rendered by the Sudan defence force.

An undertaking to appoint as Governor-General in the Sudan a nominee of the British Government.

Agreement of extension of irrigation in the Sudan.

The maintenance of the posts of the financial and judicial advisers against whose presence Zaghlul had continuously railed.

The London version omitted any reference to an indemnity.

Zaghlul's reply to Lord Allenby's demand expressed horror, without any attempt at reserve, for the crime, but declared that the Government could not be held responsible for the murder to the extent envisaged by Lord Allenby.

As soon as the High Commissioner read this document, he informed Zaghlul, with the minimum of delay, that orders were being issued at once for the withdrawal of all Egyptian officers and forces from the Sudan, that permission was being given to the Sudanese to increase their toll of the Nile waters, and that he proposed to seize the customs. He, in fact, did seize the customs.

The decision to evacuate the Egyptian units created trouble of the first order, but Zaghlul, who had been so contemptuous of British policy and of British assertions, now realised that he had gone too far. His friend, Lord Allenby, refused to treat with him, or to listen to any of his explanations. Lord Allenby let it be known, and in round terms, that he considered Zaghlul to be grievously at fault in principle, if not in fact.

Zaghlul realised that Lord Allenby was roused, and to a degree where he was the soldier thrusting at

an objective. Zaghlul thought it not improbable that his own person would be the objective.

In the end he had no other recourse but to resign.

In the Sudan, in the meantime, the Zaghlulists had been unrelenting in their activities both among the Egyptian and the Sudanese troops.

When ordered to leave for Egypt, the Egyptian artillery and the Third Battalion refused to obey without direct orders from King Fuad. His Majesty was approached, and the order was immediately forthcoming.

The Egyptian extremists, not to be outdone, worked among the Sudanese battalions, and spread the story that this troop movement meant evacuation, and there were serious mutinies among the Sudanese troops at Khartoum and elsewhere which were only put down after heavy fighting and the infliction of many casualties.

The transference of the Egyptian troops to Egypt was concluded without incident, but the disaffection among the purely Sudanese units had left a difficult situation.

Almost, but not quite, was the green flag of Egypt lowered in the Sudan. The Governor-General in the Sudan telegraphed to London that it was impossible to rebuild the army on a double allegiance. It was touch and go. Had that action been taken the day after the murder of Sir Lee Stack it is improbable that Egypt would have been accorded further rights in the Sudan at any time. There was some delay, however, and Mr. Chamberlain hesitated to take the

step because of the inevitable reactions upon foreign opinion.

The net result of the Zaghlul regime, however, was that a severe blow had been delivered at Egyptian prestige; in the eyes of the world the predominating party was allied with the forces of terrorism, relations between Cairo and London were still further estranged, and once more a great burden of responsibility was thrown upon the shoulders of Fuad.

The King was not averse to seeing Zaghlul take so precipitous a fall, because he had been a hard task-master while in office, and had continually flouted the Royal word. But the price which Egypt was required to pay was one which Fuad could only regard with considerable disquiet.

For the time being Zaghlul's place as Prime Minister was taken by Ahmed Ziwari Pasha, a man of a happy-go-lucky disposition, more than willing to work hand in hand with the King, and with the British High Commissioner, and one whose temperament the King could understand. He would evolve a scheme and pursue it with tremendous enthusiasm while the whim lasted, but he had no flair for concentrated, consistent effort.

Toward the end of the year 1924 Parliament was dissolved, and new elections were on the way. Another battle was to be fought between the King and Zaghlul.

It was a real battle between personalities, with the monarch on one side and the forces of Zaghlulism on the other. In the days leading up to the murder of Sir

Lee Stack, Zaghlul had plainly shown his republican tendencies. More and more was he building his policy on that of Mustapha Kemal in Turkey, and Fuad did his utmost to bring disorder into the Zaghlulist ranks.

Just prior to the dissolution of Parliament he induced one Sidky Pasha, a powerful personality, and a deadly opponent of Zaghlul, to accept the portfolio of Minister of the Interior. The powers which went with this office were considerable, and Sidky Pasha was not slow to use them.

Zaghlul had lost considerable prestige by his handling of his Ministry, and if Fuad was unpopular, that did not mean that a majority of Egyptians would have welcomed a republic under Zaghlul. Then, Egypt had been diverted by the spectacle of its all-powerful Prime Minister evidencing the most palpable fears for his personal safety, and panic-stricken in the belief that he must shortly be hanged.

To assist in the disruption of the Zaghlulist caucus, Fuad personally organised a new political party known as the Party of Union. This was a Royalist party purely and simply, but Fuad had seen what organisation can accomplish. Zaghlul had demonstrated to him the power of collective effort, and he was not too proud to learn. Here was the King taking an active part in the subterranean political life of the country.

Zaghlul as an all-powerful Prime Minister was one thing. Outside of office he was merely an agitator who had been unwary enough to make threats against

the throne and the person of the King, and one, therefore, who might be the subject of condign punishment at the hands of a vigorous Minister of the Interior.

In these circumstances, Zaghlul was forced to shift his ground, and not only did he express a devout loyalty to the throne, but he made contact with the British High Commissioner with whom he sought to make some sort of alliance. So far did he recede in the face of political pressure from his previous high-handedness that he was wont darkly to hint at the Residency of the dangers of having an autocratic monarch in the saddle and of the desirability of having the British in the offing to curb the actions of a ruler who, at heart, was an enemy of constitutionalism.

The elections were held, and the result was indeterminate. Neither side could claim the victory, but actual voting in the Chamber gave Zaghlul the Presidency.

Zaghlul, having in mind the difficulties of a situation rendered almost untenable by his recent utterances, which in no way could be allied to those which he had broadcast with so much force a few months before, immediately resigned the honour.

Fuad, also alive to the position, and believing that further vigorous action on his part would result in a more decisive blow at the forces of Zaghlulism (which he invariable interpreted as republicanism) refused to accept the resignation, and dissolved Parliament forthwith.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

AUTOCRACY

THESE EVENTS LEFT KING FUAD in full command of the situation, and he resolved, in order that the anti-Palace bloc should encounter sufficient difficulties when the country was next called to the polls that there should be radical revisions of the electoral law. Such revisions would, of course, take time. In the interim, the question of new elections could be put on one side.

Having decided upon this course, King Fuad went further, and created an opportunity in which he could reward the members of the Party of Union and provide for it a much needed stiffening.

The opportunity presented itself when a violent quarrel broke out between two of his Ministers. The matter was purely personal and in other circumstances might have been passed over, but Fuad refused to allow the matter to rest, and so engineered the situation that a thorough reconstitution of the Ministry became necessary. The result was that King Fuad, and his confidential adviser, Nashaat Pasha, became the rulers of the country. All was subservient to the throne, and the constitution was virtually abrogated.

In adopting this course of action, and in scheming to bring about its consummation, King Fuad firmly believed that he had no alternative. He believed in constitutionalism in the abstract, but he did not think that Egypt was prepared for the great step forward which it had attained. He believed that Egypt had to choose, for the time being at any rate, between a virtual autocracy, or Zaghlulism, and he thought that autocracy was the best solution to Egypt's many difficulties.

The people, however, were not so sure. They had had a taste of autocratic power in the past, and there were still those with the most unhappy memories of the dark days of Khedive Ismail's sovereignty.

Perhaps the people of Egypt would not have been so unduly perturbed at the thought of Fuad's growing power, had he not delegated so much of his authority to his *chef de Cabinet*, Nashaat Pasha, who was cordially hated and whose every action was regarded with the deepest suspicion. So strong was popular opinion against this favourite of the court that a *rapprochement* ensued between the Zaghlulists and the Liberal elements, and vigorous efforts were made to defy the King and to bring about a meeting of Parliament in accordance with the terms of the constitution.

Zaghlul, alive to the possibilities, cordially agreed to the scheme, and preparations were made to this end. When the ex-deputies and ex-senators made their way to Parliament buildings, however, they found their progress blocked by a large force of police and military. There were no riotous scenes,

for these men were politicians and not just ordinary members of the populace inflamed by passion to commit overt acts, but there was a considerable exchange of badinage during which the Parliamentarians beat a retreat.

It was a retreat, however, and not a rout, for denied the accommodation of Parliament buildings, the ex-deputies and ex-senators repaired to a well known hotel which they found sufficiently comfortable to enable them to hold a session and to elect Zaghlul President of the Chamber. At this meeting both constitutionalists and Zaghlulists were represented, and when news of the gathering and its outcome was conveyed to King Fuad, he was furiously angry.

He regarded this action not so much an affront to himself as to his favourite, Nashaat, who was an excellent courtier, and withal a most amusing companion. Also, he held views on the Anglo-Egyptian connection which made contact with British officials exceedingly pleasant. Fuad believed that he was being out-manœuvred.

Lord Allenby had recently departed, and his place as High Commissioner had been taken by Lord Lloyd to whom Egyptian conditions were comparatively new and who was now confronted with a tangled political skein which he could only contemplate with despair.

It became quickly obvious to Lord Lloyd that government through the Palace with an unpopular figure head such as Fuad, and a cordially hated per-

sonage such as Nashaat, could only lead to grave disorders, and disorders which would react upon British residents and officials, because the popular view was that the Palace autocracy was being maintained at least with the sympathies of the British.

He bent himself, therefore, to the uncongenial task of persuading Fuad that a change of policy was incumbent. In his interviews with His Majesty, he was careful not to minimise the force of the blow which would be felt by the Palace party, but he begged Fuad to take the "long and statesmanlike" view.

He succeeded in his quest, and in December, 1925, Nashaat Pasha was gazetted as Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Madrid.

New elections were not actually held until May, 1926, but in the interval a considerable change was apparent in the political arena. Zaghlul, never at heart a violent person, was considerably chastened by the murder of Sir Lee Stack. Quite apart from his own personal fears in the matter, murder as such revolted his fastidious soul, and he began to seek the background rather than the limelight. Almost did he earn a name for moderation of thought and utterance, and with the realisation that he himself was the Zaghlulist party and that with his passing, such was the paucity of able lieutenants, his party would disintegrate, he commenced a liaison with more moderate elements.

Zaghlul, however, was a victim of his earlier days when he was little more than an arrogant disturber of

the peace, and no matter how much he declaimed, no matter how often he declared that he was now too old for active politics and must be regarded as the "Father of the People", the forces which welled forth to the magic of his name were necessarily violently anti-British, and sullenly anti-Palace.

Moreover, once the country was in the excitement and turmoil of electoral strife, there was no knowing what Zaghlul would do or say.

As the day of the elections appeared, King Fuad became more and more apprehensive of the result, for he had no stomach for a return of those irksome conditions which had characterised Zaghlul's first Premiership, and he at least was more than sceptical of Zaghlul's belated reformation.

In the Residency, also, the result of the elections was awaited with some trepidation, for the British had no desire to see another period of Zaghlulist activity such as culminated in the murder of Sir Lee Stack.

When the result of the elections was made known, the Wafd under Zaghlul had secured 144 out of the 201 seats. The Liberals had 28, and the King's Party of Union 7.

Would Zaghlul take office? Previously he had protested that he was too old, but the fruits of office represented a tremendous lure. On the evening after the elections he declared that he would not. On the succeeding night, he said that he would.

If pressure could be brought to bear upon Zaghlul an unpleasant situation might be averted. The one

person of ability who could take his place was Adly Pasha who had played a leading part in inducing Zaghlul to negotiate with Lord Milner. But Zaghlul and Adly were political rivals. Adly had stolen some of the limelight from the Milner negotiations which should rightly have belonged to Zaghlul. Also, Adly was autocratic in spirit and not one lightly to bow to popular clamour, and though honest and well qualified by birth for high position, was exceedingly reserved, and not likely easily to fall in with the views of a Zaghlulist majority.

Lord Lloyd was exceedingly anxious that Zaghlul should not take office, as were the British Government, but Whitehall hesitated to issue a deliberate negative.

Lord Lloyd had an interview with King Fuad on the subject when His Majesty made no secret of the delight which would be his if some means could be found of circumventing Zaghlul. He was unwilling, however, to force the issue to the extent of issuing a veto. Fuad, although he did not say so publicly, was ready, if necessity arose, once more to dissolve Parliament and to maintain his Palace government, and he undoubtedly preferred this course to having Zaghlul lurking in the background and dictating the policy of a Prime Minister who held his portfolio on Zaghlul's sufferance.

When he returned from his interview with Fuad, Lord Lloyd found himself fortified by a decision of the British Government to deny Zaghlul office "as a last resort", and with the possibility of such a resort

being necessary, Lord Lloyd further consolidated his position by requesting that a British warship be sent at all speed to Alexandria.

In Egypt, the land of whispering, all this speedily came to the ear of Zaghlul, and he indicated his desire for an interview with the British High Commissioner at which Zaghlul, with delightful sangfroid, expressed his amazement that he should be *non persona grata* with the British Government. Zaghlul took a high hand, and intimated that his pain would not be intolerable if the British were banished from Egypt, and King Fuad reduced to that status where he would unhesitatingly obey the behests of his Ministers.

Zaghlul left Lord Lloyd protesting that he was an old man who must needs have rest, and indeed he went home to the solitude of his bedroom to ponder on his position.

Here was a situation which brought back an atmosphere akin to that which obtained at the time of the Stack murder when circumstances might render inevitable a serious reconsideration of the status of an Egypt which displayed singular inability to evolve a settled form of government.

At this moment, when so much was wavering in the balance there occurred one of those fortuitous circumstances which brought vividly to the mind of all Egyptians the reactions to the Stack murder and the fact that but a hair's breadth divided Egypt from retrogression to the old days of the Protectorate.

Two of Zaghlul's colleagues who had been tried with complicity in the murder of Sir Lee Stack were

acquitted. But many had food for thought when they heard it whispered that Judge Kershaw, disagreeing with his colleagues on the bench, immediately tendered his resignation on the ground that the verdict was "so much against the weight of evidence as to amount to a grave miscarriage of justice".

Now far from confident, the Zaghlulists learned that H.M.S. *Resolute* was steaming at full speed toward Alexandria and when the Zaghlulists met at a hotel for a banquet at which Zaghlul was to disclose his intentions, they found themselves in a serious quandary. They knew that if their leader assumed power, the worst could be expected, and after all, there was a way out by means of a Coalition Ministry which would free them of their major embarrassments.

Zaghlul, who had risen from his bed determined to force the issue, and again to throw down the gauntlet to the King, made a tactical mistake when he made some hesitating references to the state of his health. A speaker arose, who suggested that perhaps it would be best for the cause if Zaghlul did not overstrain himself.

This was the signal for Zaghlul to rise in all his majesty, and to declare that, notwithstanding his physical disabilities, he, "the Father of the People" would make the sacrifice, and assume control of affairs.

Zaghlul had a speech already prepared to this end, but something went awry.

The speaker who had suggested, so tentatively and

half-heartedly, that Zaghlul should conserve his health, had shown the gathering the way out. When he sat down he was amazed by the applause which greeted his words. So was Zaghlul.

He rose amidst the tumult, but the speech in his hand was not fitted to the occasion, and he stumbled and halted.

He sat down precipitately, murmuring: "I cannot reply, I cannot reply," and the meeting broke up in some disorder.

Zaghlul had let power slip through his fingers at the supreme moment of his career. Had events been otherwise it is impossible to foretell what would have been the state of Egypt a year hence. But—the best laid schemes of man must wait success from Allah's hands!

Egypt had passed another milestone in her history, and Fate had come down heavily on the side of King Fuad.

There is no doubt that at this time Zaghlul was a very sick man. The events here described pushed him entirely from his habitual poise, and he was now a man seeking repose.

He called upon the High Commissioner, and declared that not only would he do his utmost to maintain friendly relations with Great Britain, but that he would never accept office again.

Later, he called upon King Fuad, and made his peace. He proceeded to the Palace as a loyal subject of the Crown whose principal desire was that his past record should be forgotten.

He found King Fuad magnanimous, as indeed, he could afford to be, and Zaghlul left with the declaration that he would accord all support to Adly Pasha, who was now to head a Coalition Ministry.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

A POLITICAL LULL

AS SOON AS THE grave preoccupations attendant upon the political situation left him the leisure, King Fuad commenced a series of journeys to various parts of Egypt, the Sudan, and beyond. He visited in succession Lower Egypt, Upper Egypt and the Sinai Peninsula, ascending the Nile as far as Assuan. He also crossed the desert to Luxor.

In the course of these visits Fuad made a stay in every district of note, and donated large sums from his private purse for works of public utility and charity.

He also turned his attention to Egyptian consular and diplomatic institutions. Nominally a vassal of Turkey before the War, Egypt possessed no diplomatic or consular organisation abroad, and Egyptians, as a last resort, had had to apply to Ottoman embassies and consulates for the assistance they required.

Under the Protectorate, representatives of Great Britain took the place of Turks in this connection, and when he was named King Fuad was confronted with the task of building up his own machinery. This sphere of activity he regarded as peculiarly his own.

In the report published by the Milner Commission in 1921 the following passage occurs:

“Even in Egypt we have already perceived that all Egyptians, including the Sultan and his Ministers, if they were divided upon other points, were united in the same desire of having diplomatic representation of their country abroad. It was painful for all of them, when we declared a Protectorate, that we did without an Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and that we placed in the hands of the High Commissioner the department of Foreign Affairs. It was universally hoped that when the time came definitely to establish the relations between Great Britain and Egypt, we should allow the Ministry of Foreign Affairs again to have an Egyptian titular, and the representatives of foreign countries would be accredited, as in the past, to the sovereign of Egypt.”

As soon as the constitution was proclaimed Fuad gave this matter his closest attention, and toward the end of 1923 were created the Legations of London, Paris, Rome and Washington. Legations at Berlin, Brussels, Istambul, Madrid, Prague and Athens were instituted in February, 1925, at Teheran, Berne, Bucharest, The Hague and Rio de Janeiro later in the year, and at Sofia, Belgrade and Warsaw in 1926.

In December, 1925, Consulates-General were created in the majority of these capitals, and in addition Vice-Consulates were established in Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Haifa, Jerusalem, Beirut, Genoa, Monaco, Manchester, Liverpool, Munich, Antwerp, Geneva, Barcelona, Budapest, Salonika, Cavala, Smyrna, Rhodes, New York, etc.

Fuad prided himself upon the excellence of the

machinery which he had evolved, and he was furious when, in 1926, the Egyptian Parliament, for reasons of economy which he would not admit, found it necessary to suppress certain of the legations which he had created.

Had King Fuad not created his diplomatic edifice unaided, and had he not on various occasions drawn attention to the smooth working of the machinery which he had created to the disparagement of the efforts of others, it is more than probable that this step would never have been taken, as the whole of Egypt regarded Parliament's action as a mistake, and one which would have to be remedied as soon as circumstances allowed.

Fuad but rarely sought popular approval for his actions, and he was never lacking in courage when he was required to embark upon the delicate. When he decided upon reforms in the social field, he had to tread with circumspection, but he ventured where others had feared to tread.

Toward the end of the last century one Sheikh Mohamed Abdu had endeavoured to bring about much needed "reforms" in the social sense, and his actions had been met with bitter and profound hostility.

In a country where Islam is the State religion, and where thirteen millions of the total population of fourteen and a half millions are Moslems and are, therefore, subject in all matters affecting their personal status, marriage, divorce, inheritance, etc., to the prescriptions of the Koran, the application of

which is entrusted to Mahkamahs, any reforms which might be projected had to be introduced with more than ordinary discretion and method.

Of all Egyptian institutions, the Mahkamahs had been least affected during the march of progress over the last forty years, and this was undoubtedly due to the fear of provoking hostility of the most inflamed kind. Fuad believed, however, that modern civilisation called for reform of the purely Islamic jurisdiction of certain dispositions as applied by the Mahkamahs.

Here Fuad was able to work with remarkably little interference on the part of either his Ministers or Parliament, for the task called for courage and a contempt for popular hostility in respect to which most public men begged to be excused.

King Fuad worked methodically, and deliberately. First of all he initiated a reform of the personnel of the Mahkamahs, and he brought about the abolition, to a great extent, of the flagrant inequalities of the Cadis (Mahkamah judges and magistrates of the ordinary tribunals) and, as may be imagined, even this initial step was not achieved without considerable heartburning on the part of those who found their rich emoluments mulcted. As, however, there were many Cadis who benefited from the reforms, Fuad probably thought that the railings of the fleeced would be counterbalanced by the praises of the many whose stipends had been increased. This, however, was asking too much. The shorn remained bitter to the end, and the others were not long in arriving at the

conclusion that they should have fared better in the general levelling.

Another step taken by Fuad was to alleviate the congestion of the central Mahkamahs by the creation of new provincial Mahkamahs. In consequence of the very rapid increase of the population of the big towns and cities, the congestion at the courts was such that sometimes years had to elapse before a judgment could be obtained even on the most simple matter.

If delay in the rendering of judgment did not cause undue harm in civil and penal affairs, this was by no means the case when it touched on domestic and financial affairs, such as that of a repudiated wife, or that of a poor family claiming a meagre part of an inheritance to ensure existence. It was often necessary for poor persons, in order to make an application to the court, to make long journeys, frequently of several days' duration, without any great hope of being heard by the Cadi when they arrived at their destination. It is not difficult to realise the extent of the harm caused to litigants by this situation, and the decentralisation of the Mahkamahs was the obvious remedy. King Fuad, however, only succeeded in carrying on his reforms with considerable difficulty, and in the face of much veiled opposition.

This much accomplished, King Fuad had the courage to go a step further, and Europeans will find it difficult to conceive how dangerous was the action which the King now contemplated. He proposed to interfere with custom under the Islamic law. One

false move, and he would have had every fellahin at his ears.

Flagrant abuses had grown up in the course of time either in the too strict, or the too indulgent interpretation—according to the rite adopted—of certain dispositions of Islamic law. Thus, an astute husband who had tired of his wife and desired to repudiate her, could proceed in such a manner whereby he could escape the charge of paying her alimony. This was dangerous ground for a reformer, but there were other fields almost as treacherous.

A man could repudiate his wife, if she failed to provide him with child, but under the law as it then stood, a wife so repudiated could keep her husband in suspense for years, as verification of the question of pregnancy, or otherwise, was not permitted by law.

Also, a married woman had no right to divorce if her husband failed to support her, and in the event of a prolonged absence on the part of a husband, the wife could not re-marry until after the death of relatives of the same age as her husband.

The death of these relatives was regarded, in law, as ground for presuming the death of the absent husband.

Again, in the event of grave infirmities of the husband, a wife could only petition for divorce in certain special circumstances.

King Fuad effected important reforms in all these matters, and he appointed a commission, composed of the Rector of the University of Al-Azhar, the President of the High Mahkamahs, the Grand Mufti

and others, to amend the laws relating to alimony, desertion, separation, etc.

A law was eventually passed, and now there is little risk of a woman losing alimony. The law was so amended that a woman can petition for divorce on the ground of her husband's indigence and she can do so also in the event of the prolonged absence of her husband. Finally, a wife can now petition for divorce in the event of the permanent infirmity of her husband.

Not content with this King Fuad went further, and applied his attention to a social problem which has been discussed *ad nauseam* in other Eastern countries for centuries, and in respect to which feelings have run high whenever reformers have ever attempted even to touch its fringe.

Until recent years the Egyptian law embodied no limitation on the marriageable age, and as from the religious point of view there was no obstacle to the marriage of minors provided they had reached the age of puberty, the abuses committed in the marriage of children of tender years were considerable. Much has been written on the subject of child marriage, especially in so far as it affects India where, in the face of the most tremendous opposition, a Bill was but recently placed on the Statute Book regulating the age at which marriages may be performed. This law is observed mainly in the breach, notwithstanding the most strenuous efforts of the authorities to apply its provisions.

King Fuad was faced with an appalling situation,

and one which struck him with more force than it did the average Egyptian because of his upbringing in Europe. He found that children of ten, twelve, and fourteen years of age, with no experience of the ways of life and utterly ignorant of the ties and obligations of matrimony, were being married by their parents for reasons of family expediency.

There is no need to dwell on the unfortunate consequences which can ensue from such a practice. Here King Fuad was resolute in his determination to introduce immediate reform, and as early as 1923 he introduced a measure which ordained:

(1) That failing an order emanating from the King, notice of intended marriage cannot be accepted unless on the date of the notice the age of the woman is not less than sixteen years, and the age of the man not less than eighteen years; and,

(2) That the marriage contract or registration of a marriage said to have been concluded before the new law came into force cannot be passed unless the woman had attained on the date in question the age of sixteen years and the husband eighteen years.

Just before his death King Fuad believed that the time had come to push his social reforms into the field of polygamy, and the Minister of Justice is even now occupied with drafts prepared by the hand of King Fuad for the restriction of this practice.

In reality, the new law will simply establish conditions which have become almost general among educated Egyptians where, save in very rare instances, monogamy has been the rule.

Coincident with this law there is in preparation another, also drafted out by King Fuad, which is to be designed to curb the excessive facility with which a wife is repudiated among the masses. Its purpose is to give more stability to family life among the fellahin, and to raise the status of women.

Still delving in social reform, King Fuad was struck by the extremely high rate of infant mortality which, until he took such vigorous action, was regarded with no very great alarm by the masses of Egypt, and merely as an affliction which must be borne with patience and resignation.

In 1925 the rate of mortality reached 32 per cent for infants under one year, and 36.3 per cent for children between the ages of one and ten years.

King Fuad caused a statistical return to be made, and when these figures were presented to him, he insisted that an early start be made in the education of mothers. He realised that here, more than anywhere, the most cautious treatment was incumbent but at once, fifteen special dispensaries were opened for the treatment of children, to advise mothers, and to train midwives.

Gradually, as a result of his efforts, there is disappearing what was a commonplace of Egyptian streets. The myriads of flies which descended upon the eyelids of children are no longer permitted to remain, and under King Fuad's vigorous incentive, special, and highly successful efforts have been made to attack the fly scourge at its source.

I remember, in 1922, riding on the outskirts of

Cairo, and it was impossible to see my horse or my legs for the thick layer of flies which attached themselves. A companion told me that my back was swarming with the insects, and a glance at his back, which was literally an inch deep with flies, added verisimilitude to his statement.

I rode the same course, and at approximately the same time of year in 1928, and I was struck by the absence of flies. There is no question of the fact that Egypt's high infant mortality was due, not so much to the ignorance of the mothers, but to the country's more or less complete disregard of the elementary principles of hygiene.

It required a forceful personality such as King Fuad's to make any impression in this field, and that force will have to be applied for many years to come. The fellahin is apt to regard the imposition of hygienic practices as yet another instance of the vagaries of autocratic or bureaucratic control, and will revert to the ways of his fathers and forefathers unless closely watched.

Under King Fuad's ægis, child welfare centres were instituted in all the principal districts. There are now three of these in Cairo, and there will soon be a fourth.

The more King Fuad proceeded into the field of social service, the more formidable did he find his task.

Egypt, the land of scourges and plagues, was, and is, ridden with malaria. Italy too is not free of the disease, but there remarkable strides toward its complete

suppression had been made by the irrigation of marshlands where the mosquito is apt to flourish. King Fuad brought the knowledge of his experience to this task, and he instituted a commission for the draining of marshes, the improvement of water-works, of drinking water canals, the planning of canalisation from the point of view of destroying larvæ, and finally the stocking of marshes with fish where water lies permanently.

Measures toward this end were carried out with considerable success at Cairo, Holwan, Turah, Suez, Ismailia, Bonha, the Fayoum, Asswan and El-Derr.

When, however, King Fuad interested himself in the matter of scourges, he found almost no end. Egypt suffers severely from maladies with such awe-inspiring titles as bilharzia, ankylostoma, typhus and trachoma.

King Fuad found himself seriously preoccupied by this situation, and in accordance with his direct instructions minute investigations were made with a view to ascertaining the precise cause of these scourges, and the best means of combating them. To this end agreement was reached with Dr. Lieper, the London specialist in these diseases, and with experts of the Rockefeller Institute of New York. In addition to fixed hospitals, seventeen mobile hospitals, numerous dispensaries and special sections were created. In 1925 the enormous total of 153,118 cases were treated for bilharzia and ankylostoma.

Very special efforts were made to combat typhus, and two specialists from the Lister Institute in London

were engaged. They made exhaustive researches, but unfortunately, just as it seemed that their efforts were to be crowned by success, they themselves were struck down by this terrible malady, and died.

King Fuad, if he worked hard in these fields, laboured even harder in one which usually comes under the mundane description of "drains". He was firmly of the opinion, and there is no doubt that to a very great degree he was right, that much of Egypt's mortality and general ill-health could be attributed to the lack of these all-essential adjuncts to the overcrowding which comes of civilisation as we know it.

King Fuad had a bent for drains which was almost a mania, and he was wont to invade the deepest recesses of his Palace, sniffing suspiciously. His frequent intercourse with high British officers, who had demonstrated that large bodies of troops could be kept healthy in Egypt, Palestine and the Sudan by the strict application of hygienic methods, caused him to experiment with a variety of antiseptics and fumigants. Usually he had a bottle or tin of some such product in his pocket, and if he tracked down an aroma the least suspicious it was his custom to call loudly for those in charge of that portion of his domain, and dramatically to sprinkle.

King Fuad had reason to be suspicious of what went on in the hinterland of his palaces, and his descents into the nether regions were seldom unproductive.

Soon after he became Sultan he made a sudden tour

of inspection of the kitchens, and thereafter had his own food specially prepared, and in circumstances where he could make periodical flying visits during the course of its preparation.

Tea he invariably had made in front of his own eyes from a silver kettle. On his first descent to the kitchens he discovered a large copper cauldron bubbling on the hob. When he inquired the nature of the concoction, he was informed that tea was in the act of brewing. Further investigations revealed a sock suspended beneath the lid of the cauldron, and the sock was doing duty as a tea infuser.

Fuad did not wait to hear the cook's protestations that the sock was new when pressed into this novel service, but immediately commenced a campaign of the most stringent supervision.

Fuad's infrequent visits to the Muski, that very aromatic portion of Cairo beloved of the tourist, caused him to realise how necessary was his insistence upon drains. He had been critical on the subject before, but when his person received the contents of a slop pail thrown from an upper window by a non-chalant householder who was merely acting in accordance with old established custom, he became vehement.

Fuad should go down in history as the man who cleaned up Egypt. Not only did he insist upon drains, but upon furnaces being constructed everywhere for the speedy destruction of rubbish. On his determination to effect the quick disposal of rubbish he built the foundations of his campaign against flies. He

created corps of sanitary inspectors who, a harassed populace declared, were recruited with one qualification, and that the length of their noses. He created a Museum of Hygiene, and dragooned the Press, the cinematograph and scores of lecturers to lend themselves in the fight for cleanliness. A formidable wall of ignorance had to be demolished—a wall built on centuries of lethargy, suspicion, and intolerance toward those who would interfere with what were regarded as purely private affairs. To an astonishing degree King Fuad succeeded, although in the eyes of the unwashed majority, he made himself an intolerable nuisance, and had invaded realms which were unfitting for a monarch and with respect to which a King should affect profound and genteel ignorance.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

GUERILLA WARFARE

WE HAVE SEEN, as a result of a series of highly fortuitous chances, how Zaghlul was caused to hesitate when the Premiership was again his for the asking, and how this high office passed to Adly Pasha who, at the head of a coalition Government, had the promise of Zaghlulist support.

Zaghlul, although chary of entering the Ministry, retained his Presidency of the Chamber of Deputies, where with a substantial majority behind him, he occupied a position of substantial power.

All seemed set in tranquillity when the Parliamentary session opened on June 10, 1926, and King Fuad, who had as yet to sense the situation, made a speech, coming as it did after a period of Palace Government, which was remarkable for its moderation. Fuad left so much unsaid that might have been said, and so stunned the Deputies, who had expected so much more, that they broke into enthusiastic applause.

It must have been with an enigmatical smile that Fuad returned to the Palace, for of all men he understood Zaghlul, and he was fully aware that before long the hatchet, so recently buried, would be disinterred, and perhaps with indecent haste. Fuad was under no

illusions as he listened to the plaudits of the elected representatives of Egypt's great democracy. He saw the straws in the wind, and he perceived the coming struggle between Zaghlul, on the one hand, and Adly Pasha on the other; in other words, a trial of strength between the legislative and the executive functions of Egypt's new constitutional machinery.

Zaghlul, although keeping his speeches at a moderate tempo, exercised a complete mastery over the Chamber. If he did not like the disposition of a speaker, he would click his teeth in exasperation, and that speaker incontinently sat down. At the least sign of insurrection, he rang his Presidential bell with a deafening clamour, and the police and attendants would rush to the doorways, the police convinced that there was a riot, and the attendants that there was a fire.

It was inevitable too, that there should be an early clash between the Chamber, so predominantly Zaghlulist, and the authority of the King, for the Legislature was confronted with a series of measures enacted and signed by the King during the time of unconstitutionality. Either the Chamber had to accept these decrees as law, and thereby accord, by reflection, added power to the throne, or it had to declare them null and void and thereby incur the just anger of His Majesty. Also, if it repudiated these decrees, the effect of considerable masses of law would become inoperative and chaos might result.

Zaghlul's way out was typical. He rescinded the decrees, but declared that Parliament should

maintain their effects. In this Gilbertian manner was honour satisfied, and a rebuff of sufficient severity administered to the monarch. In order further to acerbate King Fuad, Zaghlul induced the Chamber to recommend legislation providing severe penalties for those who undertook such unconstitutional action in the future.

Once more, and very early in the Parliamentary session, the glove had been thrown down in the face of Fuad.

The King did not hesitate to give vent to his feelings of repugnance for an assembly which had "so little sense of decorum that it could deliberately seek to undermine the prestige of the throne". This was one of his more moderate and considered statements. To the members of his Union party he was more outspoken, and he goaded them to a frenzy of activity.

There could be no direct measures, and guerilla tactics become the order of the day with tactics and strategy, rather than frontal attacks, as a prime consideration.

There is no doubt that this was a very wearing time for Fuad, and at this period he was tempted to depart from his customary discretion of language. The excuses for immoderate asides were plenty, for he saw the Chamber running riot and the Deputies assuming to their own control much that was entirely executive. To be a Deputy was to be a force in the land, high officers of State, mere underlings who trembled in the presence.

Deputies made it a practice to invade Government departments, demand files and papers, upbraid those officials not sufficiently obsequious, and generally to tyrannise.

In vain Fuad demanded that Adly Pasha, as Prime Minister, should bring an end to such malpractices, and when Adly spoke of his inability to do so, was roundly reprimanded. These reprimands did not stop at tirades as between King and Prime Minister. So angry was Fuad after these interviews that he would stalk forth and speak disparagingly of Adly Pasha to anyone who cared to listen.

At the same time, the Press lent itself to a wordy battle conducted in a key almost hysterical. Zaghlul Pasha was goaded almost beyond endurance for his weakness in giving in to British pressure and in refusing the Premiership merely because he had narrowly escaped such a "trifling embarrassment" as the case of the Sirdar's murder, and when this failed to provoke the required explosion taunted the Deputies as a whole on their fear of dissolution if they thwarted the King, and darkly hinted that they did so only because they did not wish to lose their salaries.

Returning from one of his unpleasant interviews with Fuad, Adly Pasha repaired to the Chamber in no sweet frame of mind. There had been previous exchanges between Adly Pasha and Zaghlul as to the extent to which the legislature could mould the action of the Ministry.

Adly Pasha found Zaghlul addressing the house, and laying down the dictum, with considerable force

and spirit, that the Chamber had the right to issue detailed instructions to Ministers as to administrative measures.

Adly Pasha, sore from a chastisement just administered by the King, jumped to his feet, and as stoutly denied the right, and when Zaghlul angrily returned to the attack, he lost his temper. Zaghlul lost his also, and the Chamber listened to a wordy battle in which personalities and much that was unparliamentary were the principal ingredients.

On this not very helpful note the Chamber adjourned in September. The Chamber itself, however, was well pleased with its activities. The Deputies had increased their own salaries from £360 to £600 a year.

The true nature of the feeling between King and Parliament was sufficiently demonstrated when the Chamber again met in November. Fuad, in a very marked manner, read a speech which transparently detached from realities, and his Ministers, with one or two notable exceptions, passed the Royal dais in a manner which was well calculated to give offence. True, they raised their hand in the traditional salute, but with actions so perfunctory that these mirrored their inner thoughts. With deliberate intention, His Majesty was received with a weak and synchronised clapping, the insolent portent of which made him flush with ill-suppressed anger. Zaghlul, on the other hand, was greeted with tumultuous cheering. The disparity between the two receptions was most marked.

The conflict between throne and constitutionalism thus drifted into 1927.

Zaghlul's reception at the re-opening of Parliament was a portent, and there was much more behind the demonstration than rapturous delight in a leader, and a surly acquiescence to an unpopular monarch. It meant that Zaghlul could command obedience from individuals in the Chamber, but that in respect to the Zaghlulist party *en masse*, he was fettered by previous declamations. The party expected Zaghlul to be an extremist, and though now at heart a man who was far from anxious to embark upon perilous enterprises which would lay him open to dangers such as were so painfully oppressive subsequent to the Stack murder, he had perforce to retain the role of agitator and of one who was at enmity with the King.

To overthrow a monarchy it is first necessary to win over the army, and to this end certain of the extremists directed their concentrated energies. More and more was the army turned into a political machine, and it became obvious to Fuad, as wave after wave of insidious propaganda was sent rippling through the ranks, that there was in progress a campaign which had as its ultimate object an anti-dynastic revolution. The unpopularity of Fuad among the masses made a great rallying cry, and it is certain that but for the active intervention of the British at this time, the Zaghlulists, led by a leader now without enthusiasm for the cause, would have emulated the Young Turks and accorded to Fuad

the scant courtesy that had been meted out to the Sultan who, at dead of night, had hastily thrust such personal jewels as came easily to hand into hastily contrived newspaper packings, and fled his country on board a British warship.

Lord Lloyd, as High Commissioner, could also see the trend of events. He knew that once extremist domination of the army was complete, there would be a combined assault upon the monarchy. He was confronted by a difficult dilemma, for the British Government, in order to maintain communications, could not lightly sit by and watch a revolution. Should one develop, the main artery to the East would be severed. Yet a war with Egypt in order to prop up the throne of Fuad was a contingency which Whitehall did not contemplate with any relish.

Lord Lloyd called on Fuad and informed him that the British Government asked for a gradual, but definite reduction in the strength of the Egyptian forces, in accordance with the policy being pursued in other countries. He asked for an assurance that Fuad would exert his influence in this direction.

It was far from a happy interview, for Fuad was unable to disguise his inability to control the situation. In point of fact, he did not attempt to do so, and said that while he was more than anxious to fall in with the wishes of the British Government on this point, he was "practically powerless in the existing political circumstances".

On April 18, 1927, Adly Pasha, unable further to sustain his difficult role between the Palace and the

Zaghlulists, handed in his resignation, and his place as Premier was assumed by Sarwat Pasha.

Adly Pasha had had an exceedingly unpleasant term of office. On the one hand he had the continual criticisms of Fuad, and on the other, the marked hostility and obstructiveness of the Zaghlulists.

Sarwat Pasha, when he assumed the Premiership, was resolved that there should be less bear-leading. Zaghlul was away in the country at that moment, and Sarwat took the opportunity of informing the Chamber that he was not prepared to accept interference in the administration by Deputies, and that he would take the stand that Deputies were elected to represent the people in the Chamber and not to interfere with and oversee the work of individual officers.

At the same time the whisperers were busy. It was said (and actually, there were very good grounds for the assumption) that British warships were likely to re-appear at Alexandria and that the British Government was on the point of suggesting to King Fuad that there should be a further suspension of the constitution and the formation of another Cabinet d'affaires. The British were clearly apprehensive of the situation, and of course, nothing would have suited Fuad better than that he should once again assume autocratic control and stop the rot in the ranks of his army.

Zaghlul saw the danger, and he hurried back to Cairo. He entered the Chamber, strode to the Presidential chair, and tolled his bell with vigour.

The Deputies were cowed, and it was obvious that the storm was now blowing itself out, at least temporarily.

The Deputies, confronted with a long march in the political wilderness, obeyed Zaghlul without question when he called them to heel.

The Deputies too had personal reasons for retaining the fruits of office. They were drawing £600 a year, and their election promises had been forgotten. The voters, who had marched on their behalf to the polls were beginning to ask inconvenient questions. Too many were aware that at the next recourse to the ballot their chances of retaining a pleasantly adequate emolument would disappear into thin air.

Lord Lloyd was the power behind the throne on this occasion, and his handling of the situation, in which he received effective backing from Mr. Baldwin, almost certainly staved off a revolution, and one in which, had it developed, the armed forces of the British Empire would have been called upon to play a part capable of considerable misrepresentation.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

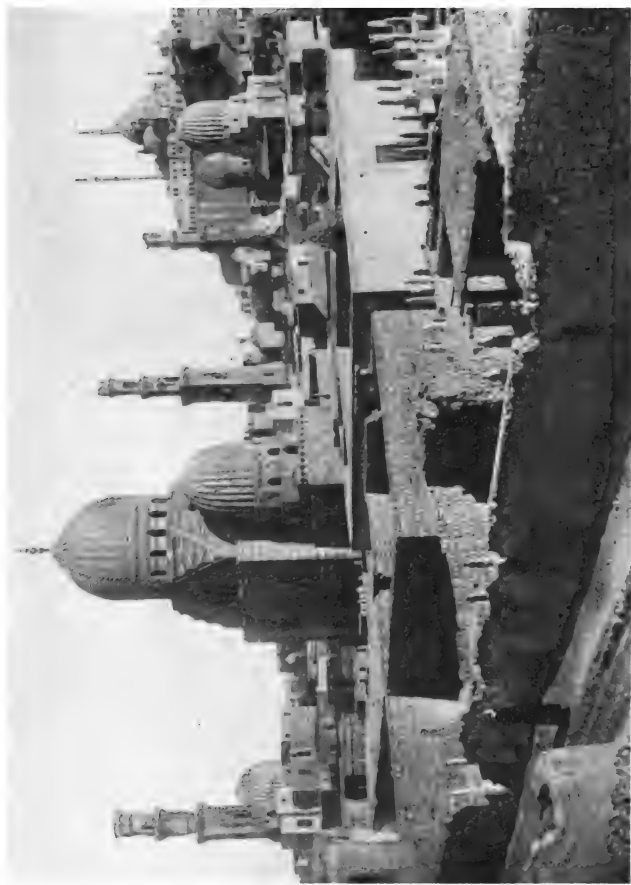
EUROPEAN JOURNEYS

KING FUAD HAD long contemplated a journey to England, but it was not until June, 1927 that he found this possible. Since his accession his principal efforts had been devoted to maintaining his seat upon the throne, and he feared that even temporarily to vacate it would be to invite special activity on the part of those who would be by no means anxious to see him back.

When taken up to the point of defying the British, however, the Zaghlulists had capitulated, and a watchful eye was now being maintained upon the army. Fuad thought that he could contemplate a holiday with some degree of equanimity.

Fuad left Alexandria in the Royal yacht *Mahroussa*, on June 24, 1927, and he arrived at Toulon on the 28th. He proceeded direct to Paris, and remained there until July 4 when he left for London to pay an official visit to King George V.

The cross-Channel steamer *Maid of Orleans* was reserved for the Egyptian Royal party, and Fuad made the crossing on this well-known vessel, four British destroyers and a number of aeroplanes meeting the ship half-way across and escorting Fuad into Dover.



TOMB OF MAMELOUKS AND THE CITADEL

There was a certain significance in these words which could not be ignored, and King Fuad, after thanking King George for the character of the reception which had been accorded him was constrained to say:

"I likewise thank Your Majesty for the sympathy with which you have followed the progress of Egypt, and it gives me pleasure to acknowledge the efficacious help which Great Britain has afforded in the past for the realisation of that progress. I am sure that in the new and happy era for Egypt, the era of independence, this progress will continue without interruption, and that the friendship between the two countries will be still further strengthened and consolidated."

On July 5, King Fuad, accompanied by the Prince of Wales and with a King's escort of Lifeguards, drove to the historic Guildhall to attend a luncheon given in his honour by the Lord Mayor. Fuad was accorded a great welcome by the residents of London during his drive, and he was heard bitterly to remark to one of his equerries that the people of London, whom so many Egyptians termed as their enemies, greeted him with greater enthusiasm and with more affection than did the residents of Cairo. In point of fact London, always ready to give expression of its appreciation when pageantry is presented for its approval, took King Fuad to heart and made very evident its sympathies toward a monarch who had had more than his ordinary share of trials and tribulations and its esteem for a man who was a person of remarkable character.

On the same evening the British Minister for Foreign Affairs gave a banquet in honour of King Fuad, and on the next day (July 6) the official visit came to an end, and Fuad left Buckingham Palace. Fuad repaired to Bute House, the seat of the Egyptian Legation in London, where he gave a brilliant banquet in honour of King George and Queen Mary.

On subsequent days Fuad paid visits to the Athletic Club of London, to Lord and Lady Salisbury, and to Mr. and Mrs. Baldwin at Chequers. He also visited the Royal Free Hospital, the Royal Geographical Society, Windsor Castle, Eton College, and last, but not least, the Palace Theatre.

On July 14, His Majesty attended another interesting function, and that a luncheon given in his honour by Lord Burnham, the then proprietor of *The Daily Telegraph*, at which were present many of the proprietors and editors of the more important newspapers in England.

On the following day King Fuad made an excursion to Gravesend where he inspected the eighteen Egyptian cadets then undergoing a course of instruction in the training-ship *Worcester*. His Majesty was especially interested in the welfare of these boys because it was as a result of his personal activities that they were in England. Desirous of forming a trained nucleus of Egyptian sailors, and at the same time helping the poor children of the city of Alexandria, His Majesty, in 1925, had conceived the idea of forming the Naval School to which he gave the name of His Royal Highness, the heir apparent. Thus the Farukieh Naval

School came into being. To-day it affords both theoretical instruction and practical training in seafaring matters.

Egypt being pre-eminently a cotton-growing country, and ranking among the principal sources of supply for the Lancashire cotton industry, the industrial centres of northern England were necessarily the subject of attention and interest for King Fuad. Accordingly on July 18, His Majesty travelled to Liverpool where he received a very cordial welcome. Several hundred thousand persons assembled in the neighbourhood of the Liverpool terminus to give him a reception of which he often spoke in wonder. King Fuad visited the Cotton Exchange, and attended a reception in his honour organised at the Town Hall by the Mayor of Liverpool. Accompanied by Lord Derby, His Majesty afterwards proceeded to his lordship's residence at Knowsley.

On the following day King Fuad went to Preston and visited works which specialise in the manufacture of cotton from Egyptian staples. On the afternoon of the same day he proceeded to Manchester where he was welcomed at the Town Hall by the Mayor and Corporation of the city. A reception and banquet were given in his honour in the evening.

On July 20, His Majesty visited Manchester University where a number of Egyptian students were undergoing a course of training, then the Rylands Library, which is celebrated for its magnificent collection of Oriental works. After lunch with the Mayor, His Majesty visited the Royal Exchange and subse-

quently proceeded to Bolton, the principal centre of the Egyptian cotton manufacturing industry in England. Here, also, he visited a number of important factories. He was particularly struck by the bearing and attire of the woman operatives whom tradition had garbed in clogs and shawls. He remarked on their neatness, their general air of well-being, and above all their dexterity and infectious good-humour.

Returning to Manchester His Majesty made a comprehensive tour of the Metropolitan Vickers Works on the 21st, and on the afternoon of the same day returned to London after an instructive, yet exhaustive tour.

On the 22nd His Majesty attended a garden party at Buckingham Palace, and two days later King Fuad returned the compliment by holding one at Bute House.

There followed a visit to the Royal Exchange, and on July 26, His Majesty left London for Paris. The Prince of Wales had sailed for Canada a few days prior to this, so that he could not be at Victoria to take leave of King Fuad. The Duke of York officiated in his stead.

While King Fuad was being rushed around England, a pretty political game was being played in London. His Majesty had been accompanied on his visit by the Premier, Sarwat Pasha, and on arrival in London Sarwat Pasha had been detached from the entourage, and invited into deep conclave with the British Minister for Foreign Affairs. Sir Austen Chamberlain urged Sarwat Pasha to consider the

necessity for some permanent agreement between Egypt and Great Britain, and long and protracted negotiations were commenced to this end.

Sarwat Pasha was left behind in London when Fuad proceeded to the Continent, and there, for the moment, we may leave him.

King Fuad left Paris on August 1 for Rome to visit his very close friend, King Victor Emmanuel, who had sent his own Royal train to Paris specially for Fuad's convenience. At Turin, Fuad was cordially greeted by Italy's Crown Prince, and at Rome, both Victor Emmanuel and the Duce were at the station to meet him. The Royal procession halted at the Place Esedra where the Governor of Rome delivered a speech of welcome. Fuad remained in Italy until August 19, when he once more returned to Paris, a city for whose manifold attractions he had a strong liking.

It was while he was here (on August 23) that he received news of the death of Said Zaghlul. Zaghlul had been ill for some days, but the greatest efforts had been made to keep the matter secret. Fuad, as soon as he learned of the sudden end of his old protagonist, ordered that he should be given a State funeral and accorded full military honours.

It was news of great moment to King Fuad, because he realised that there was no other of the calibre of Zaghlul in the ranks of the Wafd. He looked to the gradual disintegration of the powerful alliance and to the emergence of an element more Liberal in political complexion. In any event, he did not imme-

diately return to Egypt, and maintained the schedule which he had mapped out for himself. He devoted another five days to Paris, and then proceeded to Vichy. Here His Majesty drank the waters, and on September 27 once again appeared in Paris where he remained until October 25 when he left to visit the King of the Belgians.

Altogether King Fuad spent four and a half months on his European travels, and during this period made donations to charities and works of public utility amounting to £10,000.

King Fuad landed at Alexandria on November 14. On the same day landed Sarwat Pasha, with the draft of a Treaty between Great Britain and Egypt in his pocket—a draft which was once more to throw Egypt into violent political discord.

Before Fuad was required to take cognisance of this new crisis, however, he was to meet yet another foreign Royalty and this King Amanullah of Afghanistan and Queen Souria. There were the usual banquets and receptions attending this Royal visitation which accorded Fuad little pleasure. He confessed himself somewhat amazed at some of the opinions propounded by Amanullah. Fuad, who had himself introduced many reforms touching upon Koranic law, was frankly appalled by the means whereby Amanullah declared he would attain his ends, and he counselled caution. This well-meant advice was not too cordially received, and there was a certain coolness in the leave-taking of the two monarchs.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE FIGHT PROCEEDS

WHEN FUAD RETURNED from his European tour he devoted many hours to study in an effort to orientate himself. He had seen much in Europe which had both intrigued and shocked him. In England he had seen a constitutional monarchy firmly established in the goodwill of the people—so firmly established, indeed, that he took pains to read many books on British history, and particularly a number on British constitutional precedent. He had been in France, and had seen a Republic in being, and he had spent some time in Italy where he had found Victor Emmanuel but a shadow of his former self. There the scene was dominated by the Duce, and the position of the monarch almost pathetically invidious.

With those in his immediate circle Fuad frequently discussed the position of the monarchy in Egypt. The ideal to which he aspired was that which obtained in England, not in the twentieth century, however, but in the pre-Cromwellian period. As a son of Ismail he had autocratic instincts which could not be submerged, and his continued subservience to the Wafd cut into his sensitive soul.

The political situation to which he returned was not

one to inspire confidence. He found that the mantle of Zaghlul had fallen upon the shoulders of Nahas Pasha, one of the Coalition Ministers. Nahas had neither the personality nor the capabilities of the defunct Zaghlul, and he was at once the strength and weakness of his party. The Wafd, now that Zaghlul's restraining influence had gone was openly revolutionary, and impelled by the insistent demand from his party Nahas was introducing laws which were patently designed to undermine both the influence and the power of the throne. The principal of these was the Assemblies Bill which sought to take from the executive :

All powers of preventing beforehand any meeting, no matter its nature or purpose.

All power to guide demonstrations from one locality to another.

The right to disperse a meeting which had become disorderly.

In addition, the Bill made provision for the resumption of meetings which had been dissolved on account of disorder, and for severe penalties for officials who might dissolve meetings contrary to the law.

This was a direct threat to the forces of law and order which King Fuad contemplated with considerable unease, more especially as both Houses of Parliament passed the Bill, and only a technicality prevented it from receiving the status of law. It only required the Bill to be presented to the Senate for a second time for this technicality to be removed.

There was, however, the matter of the treaty which

Sarwat Pasha had brought back in his pocket, and this was to provide a welcome diversion.

The Milner Commission had recommended a treaty of alliance and had indicated the form which such a treaty should take. Roughly, this was as follows:

In return for Great Britain's undertaking to defend the independence of Egypt, Egypt would agree to be guided by England in her foreign relations.

Egypt would confer upon Great Britain certain defined rights upon Egyptian territory: (*a*) to maintain a military force there: (*b*) to control to a limited extent legislation and administration affecting foreign nationals.

The draft treaty which had been prepared between Sarwat Pasha and Sir Austen Chamberlain more or less followed these lines, but to draft a treaty in the atmosphere of London was one thing. To flourish it in Cairo was another. Considerable pressure was put upon Sarwat to sign the treaty, but for weeks he evaded the issue. Knowing the views and temper of the Wafd majority, if he desired to retain office, the one place for the treaty was within the strict confines of his pocket. In the end, however, he had to take some sort of action and on February 8, 1928, he intimated that he was laying the draft before Nahas Pasha and the other members of the Ministry immediately.

Fuad was not enamoured of the document. Quite apart from the fact that support of such a treaty would further complicate his already difficult relations with

the Wafd, he inclined to the view that undue advantage had been taken of his visit to England, and that in a matter of such moment he might have been consulted by the British Foreign Office to a greater degree than was the case.

Moreover, Fuad was looking into the future, and master tactician that he was, he saw in the difficulties attending the treaty a release from the intolerable bonds which bound him to a recalcitrant Parliament.

When the treaty brought Sarwat tumbling from his eminence and forced him to resign the Premiership, Fuad had no misgivings when he invited Nahas Pasha to form a Cabinet. He had taken the measure of Nahas, and if on the face of things he was handing everything over to the control of the Wafd, he was not ill content.

The matter of the treaty was directing the attention of Whitehall upon his country. The refusal of the Ministry to countenance the draft so laboriously evolved in London made Whitehall and the Residency look further. Light was thrown upon the pernicious Assemblies Bill, and when on March 15, King Fuad invited Nahas Pasha to form a Cabinet, and Nahas agreed, the first step toward curbing the Wafd had been taken.

In just over a month Lord Lloyd was handing to Nahas Pasha the following ultimatum:

“ . . . His Britannic Majesty's Government have watched with increasing concern the growing evidence of the intention of the Egyptian Government to proceed with certain legislation affecting public safety.

I am now instructed . . . to request Your Excellency, as head of the Egyptian Government, immediately to take the necessary steps to prevent the Bill regulating public meetings and demonstrations from becoming law.

I am instructed to request your Excellency to give me a categorical assurance in writing that the above-mentioned measure will not be proceeded with. Should this assurance not reach me before 7 p.m. on May 2nd, His Britannic Majesty's Government will take such action as the situation may seem to require."

The reply forthcoming from Nahas was to the effect that the Egyptian Government did not recognise the right of Great Britain to intervene in Egyptian legislation. An assurance was, however, given that further examination of the Bill would be postponed until next session.

And although this may not be the place to examine the full case, yet the tense feelings that the matter had created both in England and Egypt was undoubted. In this atmosphere, it is also true that many Egyptians were losing faith in the Wafd. But much had to follow these events.

With a watchful Great Britain behind him, King Fuad seized the opportunity thus presented. With the leader of the Wafd discredited, he considered he had the strength to deliver a blow at a Parliamentary institution which had been so consistently hostile to his person.

He issued a decree, dismissing Nahas, and adjourning Parliament for the period of one month. He

appointed Mahmud Pasha as Premier, and further considered the position.

King Fuad resolved that he would have a breathing space in which to consolidate, and on July 19, there appeared in the *Journal Officiel* a decree dissolving both the Senate and the Chamber, and suspending the Parliamentary regime for three years.

King Fuad had prepared for this by long conferences with Mahmud Pasha, the Premier, and it was at Fuad's dictation that Mahmud prepared a note which he addressed to the King, and which was published at the same time. This document is somewhat remarkable, and is worthy of reproduction. It read:

"SIR,

Your Majesty deigned in 1926 to support the Coalition as a condition meeting the needs of the country and fitted to save it from the inconveniences of partisan strife and dissensions and to satisfy the country's hopes for a firm and stable Government. . . .

But, a small group, which by a pure freak of chance during recent events, succeeded to the control of the majority party, has never ceased in its desire to exercise power, to stultify co-operation, and to give itself up to a partisan spirit which is very dangerous to the common interest, pretending that the decision arose from the fact that it was alone in defending the rights of the country and devoting its efforts to spreading this view and

employing itself in widening the division by fostering its causes.

It is exceedingly unfortunate that Government spheres were affected by this dissension, which profoundly affected the work and service among officials. The resulting disorganisation in the services is noticeable, and there is danger to public interests, exposed as they are to abuse and autocracy, to disquiet and unrest among officials. . . . The Parliamentary regime even ended by becoming an instrument of oppression in the hands of this group . . . But these influences, which have reduced the country to the condition under which it is now groaning, cannot end immediately. The Ministry hopes that a period of three years' suspension will suffice.

The Ministry also intends to revise the electoral law as well as the provisions of the constitution relative thereto, modifying them in such a way as will remedy the situation described. At the same time the Parliamentary regime and the Ministerial responsibility will be in no way affected by these modifications."

The Ministry would have been reluctant to undertake the dissolution of the two Chambers and the postponement of the elections had it not been absolutely forced to do so by the need of delivering the country from the present situation, and giving it the means to negotiate the cause of its independence in a manner to realise all its aspirations.

This document, to anyone acquainted with King Fuad, bears his own unmistakable stamp. It must not be assumed from this, however, that Mahmud was a puppet in the King's hands. When that document was indicted Mahmud was undoubtedly in one of those fits of gloom which frequently assailed him. He was a man who enjoyed indifferent health, and this was apt to render his temperament somewhat mercurial.

When at his best he had no hesitation in proclaiming himself a staunch friend of the constitution, and he was so obviously sincere in this that his relations with Fuad were frequently strained. Much that he did and said did not commend itself to His Majesty, who more and more shifted the balance of power so that in effect another "Palace" Government was produced with advisers to whom the principles of autocracy came naturally.

Fuad's strength, at this period, lay in the accusation that Parliament had meddled overmuch with outside affairs, and had signally failed in the sphere of internal affairs with which it was primarily concerned.

Also, to those who declared that he was an enemy of the constitution he could retort, and indeed did so with vigour and relish, that indeed he was the saviour of the constitution which he now had temporarily in his safe-keeping. He pointed, not without effect, to the grim experiences of Egypt which indicated that disorder, or the strong possibility of disorder, invariably brought about foreign intervention. His plea, when he was in the mood to make it, was that he, in

his own person, had stepped in at the very last moment, and had saved Egypt from a retrogressive slide from which she might never recover.

As matters developed, King Fuad was able to secure to himself a progressively increasing degree of control of the country's affairs. The Prime Minister, although sometimes a thorn in his flesh, was more or less consistently ill, and Nahas Pasha, still the head of the Wafd, had none of that emotional ascendancy which was Zaghlul's. Consequently, Fuad found time and the leisure to devote to a wide variety of interests.

His recent tour of the industrial north of England had taught King Fuad much about cotton. In Egypt, the economic life of the country is bound up with one varying factor—the price of cotton. In order to procure the manufactured and other goods of which the country has an increasing need, Egyptians are obliged to count less upon their own industry than upon the price which the foreigner is disposed to pay for the raw cotton exported from Egypt. Prior to his visit to the cotton spinning districts of England Fuad, in company with so many other Egyptians, had been disposed to believe that the price which foreigners paid for Egypt's staple export was fixed arbitrarily, and with the fixed determination to give as little as possible. Lancashire had allowed Fuad to see that instead of being rapacious, it was in reality fighting for its very existence, and he resolved, as far as was possible, to break Egypt's economic dependence upon one solitary product. He steadily encouraged the formation of local industries, but hampered by the

heavy financial demands of major schemes for public works, he was never able to afford the degree of assistance which these enterprises merited.

Nevertheless, his interest in technical education gave to industry a much-needed fillip, and in the last years of his reign he saw industry make considerable progress.

Particularly has this been the case in the manufacture of furniture which now competes successfully with the imported product and in the making of which many thousands of workers are now employed. This is entirely due to King Fuad's efforts, who encouraged the makers of inlaid arabesque furniture. These workings, revived by expert instruction which seeks to restore the old artistic traditions, have a fine future before them.

Fuad gave encouragement to weaving, flour-milling, and the manufacture of macaroni. Success also accrued to the ginning of cotton and the pottery industry.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

THE DRUG SCOURGE

SOON AFTER KING FUAD HAD suspended the constitution, he, and Egypt with him, suddenly awakened to the realisation that the country was in the grip of an enemy far more potent, and much more terrible than anything which had so far come out of Europe.

Egypt has always turned a tolerant eye to drugs, and opium and hashish, from time immemorial, have been easy to procure, and without fear of excessive penalties.

Hashish was the principal drug in use before 1929, and its addicts numbered thousands. A derivative of hemp, its preparation was simple, and it had the doubtful virtue of being reasonably cheap. Normally, a small quantity of the narcotic was placed on the tobacco contained in a pipe, the mouthpiece of which was passed from mouth to mouth. The effect was immediately exhilarating. Tongues would chatter wildly, and laughter became continuous and raucous. As the pipe made its rounds the talk would reach a high crescendo, then suddenly dissipate into snores as one after the other of the smokers fell backwards in deep torpor. The most unpleasant part of hashish-smoking lay in its after effects. It left a man *hors de*

combat for many hours, and incapable of sustained thought or action.

Hashish is one of the more harmless of narcotics, if this term can be applied to such pernicious products as drugs. Its physical reactions are not much greater than that experienced by those who over-indulge in alcohol, and prior to 1929 the authorities were not greatly perturbed by its use. In a country, where the fermented grape is forbidden by the Koranic law, workers looked for an outlet, not in beer or spirit, or in a visit to non-existent places of entertainment, but in the quiet enjoyment of a small ball of hashish. The pipe was passed round, everyone became exceedingly merry, and the principal interest of the police was centred, not on those who worked hard by day and smoked a little by night, but on those who habitually over-indulged. Hashish, prior to 1929, occupied the same place in the mind of the police and the authorities as strong drink does in England. Its use was not greatly to be deplored when the amount was reasonable, but beyond a certain limit trouble of a serious nature was to be apprehended.

Under the influence of hashish grievances are likely to be magnified; a sense of personal aggrandisement is apparent, and the cerebral excitement is frequently sufficient to precipitate an addict into the ways of violent crime.

In 1929, however, the complacency with which the mild hashish-smoking of the fellahin was regarded, was rudely shaken, for it was found that the workers had been inveigled into using the nightmare drug—

heroin. It was as if the entire working population of England had suddenly deserted its beer, and had swung over to deep potations of wood alcohol. Heroin and wood alcohol are equally pernicious. They both kill, and the manner of death is not pleasant.

How the scourge had started no one ever discovered, but when the light of publicity was thrown upon the plague it was found that the workers, especially in the provinces, and probably to the number of half a million, were already addicts, and were filtering away the greater proportion of their meagre wages in order to satisfy their cravings.

All the lesser drugs had been swept aside in the popular demand for this soul-destroying narcotic, and when King Fuad, alarmed by the intelligence brought to him, appointed the famous Russell Pasha as Director of the Central Narcotics Intelligence Bureau, a formidable underground organisation had already grown up.

It had, of course, been known for many years, that small quantities of so-called "white" drugs were smuggled into Egypt by seamen on ships calling at the Suez ports, but the introduction of heroin raised enormous difficulties because the powder is so potent, so compact, and so easily capable of concealment.

When the authorities awoke to the danger, heroin was literally flooding into the country.

Special attention was directed to all vessels arriving at either Suez or Port Tewfik, when the discovery was made that Alexandria was the main channel through which the drug stream was entering Egypt.

As soon as that channel was dammed, another was opened up, and following that another, and another, for there were vast fortunes being made in the supply of drugs, and those behind the scenes could command the most unique resources.

As detailed inquiries were made into the drug scourge the most amazing revelations were made. Heroin was eating into the heart of the Egyptian people, without respect to position or education.

Out of one batch of addicts rounded up by the police it was discovered that 499 persons were unemployed, 494 were landowners or landworkers, 274 were employed in cafés, 259 were street hawkers, 189 were merchants, 123 carters, 101 tailors, 62 landowners as apart from farmers, 47 motor drivers, 24 clerks, 24 goldsmiths, 15 writers in the streets, 15 musicians, 6 commission agents, 5 contractors and 4 actors.

In many instances it was found that masters of labour found it profitable to pander to the sudden urge for drugs evidenced by their workmen. From the main sources of supply they would secure heroin in bulk, adulterate it with other powders so as to increase the apparent quantity, and peddle it to their workmen in lieu of wages. In some instances masters were even making a profit out of the transactions, for so great was the desire of the heroin addict, that even in the case of labourers, the fruits of long established parsimony and careful saving were being expended on narcotics.

Instances were recorded where wives had been

repudiated and children left to fend for themselves because the wage-earner was in the grip of the drug fiend.

What caused Fuad to be especially apprehensive of the situation was the revelation that the practice was spreading to the younger generation, and to children. When the police first commenced their rigorous examinations, they found that the principal addicts were men between the ages of twenty and forty. Perhaps it did not strike them to carry their investigations to the women and children. In any event, inquiries in this field were attended by special difficulties and it was not for a considerable time that the prevalence of the dire habit was even suspected.

It was established, when the drug scourge was at its height, that rather more than four persons in every hundred throughout Egypt had succumbed to the lure of the white powders.

It was discovered too that at least two and a half tons of heroin were being smuggled through the port of Alexandria every year, and when much of this supply was cut off, the drug peddlers reverted to the Palestine route, and they maintained their service with determination and resource.

Heroin came into the country in watch-cases, in fountain pens, in hollow pencils, beneath women's skirts, and in small receptacles hidden in the long hair of camels.

The Arab camel men who lent themselves to the traffic—and the profits were enormous—did not hesitate to open fire if they saw danger to their gains.

The close co-operation of the British forces in Palestine had to be requisitioned to fight the scourge, and continuous desert patrols with camels, motor cars and aeroplanes had to be established before any impression could be made upon the constant stream of death-dealing heroin which found its way to the Egyptian masses.

So resolute and so determined were those behind the drug traffic that extraordinary efforts were made to create demand. In districts where this did not exist, special corps of peddlers were despatched and small quantities of the drug were distributed free. The peddlers did not hesitate to drag children into their clutches by this means.

It was not until a vast system of secret intelligence had been established that Russell Pasha succeeded in his drive against the drug traffickers—a drive in which he received every encouragement, and every assistance from King Fuad, who was appalled by the growing toll which heroin was taking of the Egyptian peoples. The main sources of supply were eventually traced to notorious Greek syndicates who, taking advantage of the difficulties attending the search of women, did not hesitate to utilise the services of those of questionable morals who were to be found near the frontier caravan-serais and in the seamen's quarters near docks, to act as carriers.

So well provided with funds were these syndicates, and so well organised, that they were strong enough to indulge in counter propaganda against the authorities. Not only did they seek to minimise the effects of the

drugs which they sold at such huge profits, but they openly brought into question the veracity of those engaged in hunting down the drug traffickers. Statements issued from time to time giving statistics relative to the drug scourge were disparaged, and every effort was made to minimise the gravity of the revelations which the unceasing work of the secret service produced.

They accused the police of overstating their case, and with such abandon, that many who were at first shocked by the realisation that Egypt had taken to drugs, were inclined to think that the situation had been exaggerated.

Actually, it is not too much to say that the extent of the ravages of the drug heroin were never sufficiently understood, and perhaps never will be, for with every consumer of heroin detected, it is to be assumed that many were able to carry on the process in secret. With the slowing down of supplies, and the irregularity of that sensation of pleased stupefaction and temporarily enhanced thinking capacity which came after the police had got to grips with the traffickers, these persons were saved from becoming addicts, and their health was not jeopardised beyond repair. They were saved, and they did not come under the purview of the police. Of the formidable number that did, it has to be remembered that the majority came under surveillance because of the glassy appearance to the eyes which heroin imparts. Those drug takers who could only secure supplies at long or irregular intervals, or who were wont to partake of the white powder

within the privacy of their own homes, went undetected for the main part and had no place in the statistics which were issued.

At the request of King Fuad, the Egyptian National Crescent Society which, since the War, had mainly devoted its efforts to philanthropy, did valuable work in combating the heroin scourge as also did the Royal Federation of International First Aid Associations of Egypt with which King Fuad had maintained a close connection ever since his accession.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

CLOSELY TO FOLLOW the course of King Fuad's further struggles with the Wafd would be to embark upon a tortuous course of intrigue and counter-intrigue which would only confuse essentials. Sufficient is it to say that Fuad, determined to carry out his design of governing as well as ruling, carried out his promise to reform the electoral law.

The new law, while nominally retaining universal suffrage, instituted an indirect system of election which put the real choice of representatives in the hands of the more responsible section of the community. It was a stroke essentially bold, and from the point of view of His Majesty, cleverly conceived. Zaghlul, and those with him, had centred their main activities in obtaining the ear and the adherence of the very class of electors whom Fuad disenfranchised. At a stroke he negated the work of years, and effectively broke the electoral dominance of the Wafd.

This action served not only further to antagonise the Wafd, but a further considerable section of his subjects, but this never seriously perturbed Fuad. Indeed, it is known that it caused him not a moment's uneasiness.

Tewfik Pasha, as Chief of the Royal Cabinet, strongly advised against this fundamental constitutional change, but Fuad refused to listen, and he resigned. His place was taken by Mohamed Pasha Ibrashi, Director of the King's Khassa and of the Faily Wakfs (the King's confidential adviser and controller of his estates) to whom Fuad delegated more and more authority. As Fuad's health deteriorated Ibrashi Pasha's dominance became more marked. He became progressively unpopular, and he was accused of acting largely on his own initiative, and of troubling the King less and less.

Fuad felt secure in his position, because the amending of the electoral law had created other constitutional changes. His Majesty had arbitrarily carried out this emendation and had submitted them to a Parliament elected *en bloc* for the occasion and with the assistance of strong administrative pressure. The Wafd and the Liberals had refused to participate in the elections, and boycotted them. The amended constitution gave Fuad power to veto legislation, and in a variety of other ways, increased his hold upon the administration and the executive. His position was roughly synonymous with that of the Viceroy of India prior to the passing of the last Government of India act.

Since that time the watchword of the Opposition, and particularly that of the Wafd, has been a return to the constitution of 1923, though there were those who were willing to admit that a judicious amendment of the constitution as it then stood would not be an unacceptable compromise.

This situation was brought to a head in 1934 when King Fuad succumbed to an attack of pleurisy. His health had been indifferent for some time prior to this illness, and he experienced considerable difficulty in shaking off its effects.

Even when lying seriously ill King Fuad retained a fierce and tenacious grip of affairs. He gave absolute orders that nothing should be made public regarding the nature of his illness, and to explain his absence from public functions it was allowed to be said that he was suffering from a mild attack of influenza. The world at large, and Egypt in particular, was given no inkling of the true state of affairs, for Fuad believed that he would quickly recover, and once more be in condition to counter the never-ceasing attacks of the Opposition.

He did not recover. Pleurisy left him with heart weakness, and the fluid in his lungs persisted. Fuad remained a sick man, and wasted away to but a shadow of his former self. More aggravating still, he was confined to his bed, and it became increasingly difficult to hide the fact that he was unable to perform his Kingly functions.

Egypt began to suspect that all was not well, but the only official references to the King's indisposition were on occasions when circumstances rendered a statement inevitable. When, for instance, Sir Miles Lampson, the British High Commissioner, proceeded on leave in August, King Fuad was unable to receive him.

Later, King Fuad was to have left for Greece where the most elaborate arrangements had been made for

him to unveil the statue of Mohamed Ali, the founder of his dynasty, who had been born at Kavalla.

King Fuad was unable to leave his summer Palace at Montazah, in Alexandria, and the veil of secrecy had to be raised.

Egypt had become increasingly uneasy and restive under the reluctance of the Palace to issue any official statement regarding the King's health, and the wildest rumours were circulated, and readily believed. Some said that the King had been dead for months and that Ibrashi Pasha, His Majesty's confidant, had concealed the fact for his own ends. Even those insufficiently credulous to believe this readily accepted the widely spread suggestion that the King was in fact so ill that Ibrashi was the real ruler. It was maintained by the Opposition, and with some force, that the King had not been consulted for months, and that the Government had been conducted entirely through Ibrashi Pasha.

In September it became known that Italian specialists had been summoned from Cairo to the Montazah Palace. The principal was Dr. Frugoni, and under his treatment, King Fuad materially improved.

Still no official reference to the King's illness was made, and the Press became frenzied in its demands for information.

It was not until October that a cautiously worded bulletin was issued to temper this insistent demand. But for the attitude of the Press on this occasion it is certain that Fuad, ably assisted by Ibrashi, would have maintained silence.

The bulletin made it clear that a serious view of the King's illness was taken ten days prior to its issue, but that His Majesty was now making good progress.

King Fuad and Ibrashi Pasha allowed this information to leave the Palace with the utmost reluctance. The most extraordinary measures had been taken to conceal the real state of affairs, and the Palace had even gone to the extent of prosecuting newspapers which, some weeks before, had foretold that Fuad would be unable to leave Alexandria for Greece.

Another bulletin issued on October 21 confirmed the improvement in the King's condition, but the ideas which had generated during the period when revelation of the King's indisposition made it evident that the Government of Egypt was really in the hands of one who was neither a Minister nor a State official, were producing results.

The British Residency took the most serious view of the situation, because with the conferment of independence, it has insisted upon constitutional government. The Residency was anxious that there should be eliminated some of the causes which had contributed to the unpopularity of the regime, and with the improvement in Fuad's condition and the departure of the specialists, lost no time in acquainting the King that it would be in his own interests, and those of his heirs, if there was some reorganisation of the personnel of His Majesty's entourage. This suggestion was, of course, primarily aimed at Ibrashi Pasha.

Fuad had no mind so easily to part with one who

had served him so well. Under the supervision of Ibrashi, the King's estates had prospered, and Fuad was an exceedingly rich man. Fuad was grateful, and combated the suggestion with all his strength. The Palace clique, so severely assailed, returned to the attack, and brought its influence to bear in every possible direction. The interference of the British Residency, under orders from the Palace, was hailed in the Press as yet another instance of British dominance, and as an unwarrantable and intolerable interference with Egypt's internal affairs.

It was obvious, however, that even Fuad could not for long withstand the forces of public opinion which were arraigned against him.

Great Britain's suggestion that the time had come to put the house in order, if aggravating, had to be considered.

Efforts were made to find a suitable person to recommend to the King as Chief of the Royal Cabinet, but in the face of the energetic efforts of those whose position was assailed, these were singularly unsuccessful.

One such person to whom the offer was made suggested that his task would be facilitated if Ibrashi Pasha were withdrawn from the post, at least temporarily. The offer was not renewed, because it was evident that the prime factor behind the intrigue of this time was to provide a screen for Ibrashi Pasha, and that every effort was being made to ensure that if he had temporarily to leave the Palace, his absence would be of the shortest duration.

This became even more evident when candidates

presented themselves for the honour. In each instance they were those under Ibrashi Pasha's dominance.

While these futile negotiations were proceeding, the Press continued to disseminate a very elaborate smoke screen designed to divert popular agitation away from the Palace and toward the British who could always be regarded as fair game.

It was freely suggested that Great Britain was going back on her word by trying to make the Declaration of 1922 a dead letter by insisting on an alteration in the law of succession, and also by brutally forcing decisions upon King Fuad when he was not fit to be consulted.

Another highly fanciful picture was drawn around the suggestion that the Acting High Commissioner, Mr. Peterson, was endeavouring to make political capital during the absence of Sir Miles Lampson and that he was actuated entirely by the desire for personal kudos. It was alleged that he had committed himself without reference to London, and either had to "make good", or resign.

The Opposition newspapers displayed a singular unwillingness to join in the baiting of Great Britain on this occasion, and went so far as openly to scoff at these suggestions. The Wafdist Press recommended the Palace to take its medicine, and declared, with some malice, that if the supposed threat to Egypt turned out to be real, "Egypt would know how to unite without a lead from its present rulers."

Liberal organs declared that they could not believe that Great Britain was encroaching on the rights of Egypt, and that on the contrary, Great Britain could

always be counted upon to exercise a beneficial influence; and that any interference in the existing state of affairs would be welcomed by the Egyptian people.

On October 24, King Fuad was well enough to receive Yehia Pasha, the Prime Minister, in audience. For the first time for many months he had been attired in his ordinary clothes, and he was able to discuss with the Premier the delicate situation which had arisen. Yehia was able to do little more than emphasise the strong wave of public opinion which was surging against the Palace, but Fuad countered this with a remark he had made to Lord Allenby ten years before.

He exclaimed with some anger that he desired nothing better than to follow British guidance, but he could never be sure what Great Britain really wanted.

Egypt followed with strained interest the clash between the British Residency and the King, and they took cognisance of the fact that after his audience with Fuad, the Prime Minister did not immediately leave for Cairo, but remained at Alexandria. It watched too, with grudging admiration, the persistency with which Ibrashi fought to retain his position, and the ingenuity displayed by Fuad in seconding his efforts.

Ibrashi was in a strong position, for the majority of the Palace Cabinet owed their rank to his bounty. Against this, however, he had to contend with a growing public opinion which detested him, whereas it only regarded the King without enthusiasm. Egypt

saw in Ibrashi Pasha one who laboured not for his country, but primarily for his Royal master, and for the small group around him which owed him unquestioned allegiance.

To further the fight of the Palace against the Residency, Yehia Pasha, the Premier, also took the view that Great Britain was aiming a blow at Egyptian independence, and he instructed the Egyptian Chargé d'Affaires in London to call at the Foreign Office and vigorously to protest against the attitude which was taken by part of the British Press.

This action followed confidential advice from London that Whitehall was vacillating.

On October 28, King Fuad bowed before the storm, and dismissed Ibrashi Pasha as Chief of the Royal Cabinet, and Ahmed Ziwar Pasha was appointed in his place.

On November 1, Yehia Pasha, who had compromised his position by the attitude he had taken in the face of the advice from the British Residency, had a long audience of Fuad in Alexandria. The King had sufficiently recovered to extend this interview over a space of two hours. At this interview, the Premier submitted the resignations of two of his Ministerial colleagues.

The day after, the new Chief of the Royal Cabinet was hurriedly despatched to Cairo by Fuad. He had instructions to ask the acting High Commissioner exactly how the Residency stood in relation to certain Ministerial changes envisaged by the King.

It was then evident that the Cabinet as a whole

was on the verge of resignation, but the change in the Government remained in suspense for several days.

It was clear that the break in the traditions of Government as Egypt had known it for the past several years was not coming easily. King Fuad spent much time in reviewing possible successors to his Ministers, and in probing the views of the British Residency. He had little relish in his task, and he had the ill-humour of the convalescent.

While Fuad was endeavouring to adjust himself to the new circumstances, Sir John Simon made a statement in the House of Commons which had a direct bearing on the position. He said that on October 3, the Egyptian Prime Minister, Yehia Pasha, at a moment when His Majesty the King of Egypt was unfortunately seriously indisposed, raised with the acting High Commissioner questions arising out of the political situation, and pointed out that an emergency would involve the joint responsibility of Egypt and the United Kingdom. His Majesty's Government agree with this view; they have weighty responsibilities in Egypt, and are, among other things, under the obligation to protect foreign lives and property in the country.

As a result of this conversation, the acting High Commissioner indicated to the Prime Minister certain steps which might be expected to strengthen the position of the administration *vis-à-vis* with Egyptian public opinion. The action taken by His Majesty's High Commissioner in Egypt has met with the full approval of His Majesty's Government, and the advice which

he has rendered has been extended to the Egyptian Government with their authority and approval.

A few hours after that statement was made, Yehia Pasha was received in audience by King Fuad and presented the resignation of his Cabinet. This was accepted by Fuad, who requested Yehia Pasha to carry on the administration until the formation of a new Cabinet—a realisation which he indicated might take several days.

After his audience Yehia Pasha made it clear that his resignation was a direct result of British interference. He maintained that he had not resigned because public opinion was against him, but because Great Britain's demands had gone beyond their legal scope.

The same afternoon King Fuad sent Ziwar Pasha, the Chief of the Royal Cabinet to Cairo to interview Nessim Pasha and to invite him to form a Cabinet. Fuad, however, made it a condition that he should accept the amended constitution—a matter which had been a bone of contention between the two, and in respect to which Nessim Pasha had resigned when the reformed constitution was introduced.

Nessim Pasha intimated that he would be willing to form a Cabinet, but he stipulated that he should have a certain liberty regarding the constitution. With this unwelcome information Ziwar Pasha returned to Alexandria to the Royal invalid.

It was particularly unpalatable to Fuad who, just prior to his original illness in January, had emphasised his attachment to the new order of things by issuing

a rescript making it obligatory for Ministers on appointment to swear an oath of fidelity to the constitution as well as one of allegiance to the Monarch.

It irked Fuad that he should have been brought to that pass where he had to extend his search for a Premier to the person of Nessim Pasha, for he was an outstanding example of the country's opposition to the amended electoral and other laws. While Chief of the Royal Cabinet he had advised Fuad of the consequences of the steps which he contemplated, and when his advice was rejected, he resigned.

Later, when nominated Senator by the King, he declined to accept the appointment as he refused to affirm his loyalty to a constitution which was repugnant to him.

Nessim Pasha was then a man of sixty who had formed two of the short-lived Cabinets which succeeded one another so rapidly in the years just after the War when Egypt was struggling for independence, and he had outstanding qualities of tact and diplomacy.

King Fuad's first invitation to Nessim Pasha that he should become Premier for a third time ended in a temporary deadlock. Nessim, with considerable courage, laid down his own conditions for acceptance; and to the Chief of the Royal Cabinet, who was kept busily running between Alexandria and Cairo, he stipulated that the obligation to swear allegiance to the constitution should be left in abeyance, and that Parliament, as elected under the new electoral rules



**EGYPTIAN SCHOOLBOYS AT LUXOR TEMPLE STUDYING
THE WONDERFUL MONUMENTS ERECTED BY
THEIR FOREFATHERS**

and at elections which had been boycotted by the Palace Opposition, should be suspended.

He indicated that suspension of Parliament was to be distinguished from dissolution. Whereas a dissolution postulates the holding of a general election within three months, suspension can be for an indefinite period. Nessim Pasha was aware that this suggestion might be denounced as unconstitutional, but he believed that in its relief of seeing the end of a Palace Government, the Wafd would accept the situation.

Nessim Pasha, while he desired a clean break with the past, required time in which to meet conditions which must materially change with the stipulations he was forcing upon King Fuad.

King Fuad hesitated for several days before coming to a decision, and he made strenuous efforts to discover one who could assume the mantle offered to Nessim Pasha. None, however, was available, and on November 12, 1934, he entrusted Nessim with the formation of a new Cabinet. Nessim did his utmost to find colleagues of talent outside the political parties, and he succeeded in getting together a band of somewhat elderly men with long and honourable records in public services. Nessim Pasha stifled criticism of this rather unprecedented action by declaring that he would shortly invite the leading members of the political parties to join his Cabinet as Ministers without portfolio.

On November 30, the King signed a decree abrogating the constitution as amended by him. The docu-

ment consisted of five short articles preceded by a short preamble which referred to Fuad's wish that the country should have a constitution satisfying it, and to the necessity for maintaining the organisation of the State in conformity with the fundamental principles which had been in force since the introduction of constitutional government in Egypt.

The decree declared the constitution to be abrogated, and dissolved Parliament; but the form of the State was maintained, as also were the force and division of its powers, and the rights and duties of citizens. The succession to the throne remained unchanged. Until after the establishment of the new constitution, the legislative and other powers of Parliament were vested in the Sovereign, governing through his Ministers. Government, it was intimated, would be by decree, subject to subsequent ratification by a future Parliament.

It was clear that this new instrument conferred complete and absolute powers on the King and his Ministers for an indefinite period—provided that they could agree.

Fuad could rightly claim to have extricated himself from his dilemma with some honour. True, he had had to demolish the constitutional edifice which he had been at such pains to build upon the old, and had had to bid farewell to his well-tried confidant, Ibrashi Pasha, but there was still much of absolutism in the political machinery in the country, and he was still far from that position now occupied by the ex-Sultan of Turkey, or even His Majesty, the King of Italy.

A master of diplomatic and political detail, notwithstanding his indisposition, he had by no means capitulated.

Indeed, if all went well, he might find that his position was stronger than in the past.

CHAPTER TWENTY

THE FINAL PHASE

THE FORMATION OF THE NESSIM CABINET in November, 1934 can be described as a victory for popular sentiment over the power of the throne, and a victory which was only made possible because of the weighty attachment of Great Britain to the popular cause. The people had cause for considerable satisfaction, and King Fuad could find solace in the fact that his own ingenuity had saved him from a situation which might well have been considerably worse.

For four years, first under Sidky Pasha, and later under Yehia Pasha, the country had been governed by methods extremely arbitrary. This regime, for the moment at least, commanded considerable respect in that it was generally admitted to be blameless in intention, even if its powers were paramount.

It was perhaps characteristic of the paradox which so frequently distinguishes happenings in Egypt that what was hailed as a triumph for constitutionalism involved the removal, for an indefinite period, of both Parliament and constitution.

Much was expected of this popular regime, for Nessim Pasha was a man of character and ability. When Nessim Pasha deliberately abstained from build-

ing a political Cabinet and chose as his colleagues men more renowned for their ability to do things administratively than for their political leanings, and later displayed some reluctance to hand out positions to Ministers without portfolio, it was assumed that he was declining a mandate for himself and that he had no intention of making himself a benevolent dictator.

It was regarded as certain by the people that he merely intended to abolish the constitution as amended by the King, draft a new one to take its place, and then hold new elections which would prepare the way for the return of the Wafd. No one could dispute the Wafd claim that it could win an election under the new constitution if administrative pressure were withheld in favour of official candidates. Moreover, Nessim Pasha, although not a member of the Wafd, was well disposed toward it, and had once served as Minister of Finance under Zaghlul Pasha.

With the assumption that the return of the Wafd was intended, Wafd organisers became exceptionally active, and their provincial committees were considerably strengthened. Within a few weeks this organisation had regained some of its old ascendancy, and it took its place as the strongest political force in the country.

King Fuad watched this turn of events with considerable apprehension, and he brought all his influence to bear.

Apart from his abstention from forming a political government Nessim Pasha was prevailed upon to refrain from any indication that he proposed promptly

to make way for the Wafd. Also, it seemed that he was in no hurry to introduce a new constitution, and that he desired to make use of the exceptional powers conferred upon him to carry out a number of administrative reforms and to introduce a new spirit of equity in the country.

This, very naturally enough, did not suit the Wafd, and it was not long before its leaders displayed their impatience and multiplied their requests to the Prime Minister for the reinstatement of Wafd officials retired under the old regime, and for further favours which would help to strengthen their hands.

The agitation of the Wafd grew, and the demand for new elections became insistent, and in February of 1935 rioting broke out on a grand scale, and there were a number of exceedingly unpleasant incidents. In the face of this demand, Nessim Pasha and King Fuad agreed that there should be new elections. At the same time the situation was somewhat complicated by the inception of further negotiations between Egypt and Great Britain for a treaty.

With so much in the air, King Fuad invited the Wafd to take part in a Coalition Government, but all attempts to induce its executive committee to adopt this course proved in vain.

The Chief of the Royal Cabinet, under instructions from King Fuad, had a number of lengthy interviews with Nahas Pasha, but the Wafd remained resolutely opposed to any proposal which might lead to the conclusion of a treaty with Great Britain by any but a purely Wafdist Cabinet before the general election.

The Wafd declared that it would admit members of other parties to the delegation which would negotiate with Great Britain, but demanded that the administration should be in its own hands if and when a treaty was signed.

It was not difficult to unearth the reason for the unbending attitude of the Wafd. The battle cry of this organisation has always been Independence for Egypt, and it was then opposed to a binding treaty with Great Britain on the general ground that once it had become party to such an agreement, the force of its battle-cry would diminish, and with it much of its hold upon the imagination of the masses.

Also, the desire of King Fuad finally to settle the position of his country *vis-à-vis* with Great Britain was sufficient for contumacy on the part of the Wafd. The Wafd was not to know what the King was not rallying from his recent illnesses as popular reports would indicate, and that he was anxious that this weighty matter should pass to the history books before he had to pass on the cares of State to his son. In the eyes of the Wafd, the King desired this thing, and that was sufficient reason to oppose it.

In the prevailing excitement, it became necessary for the Nessim Pasha Government to resign. Its resignation was placed in the hands of the King toward the end of January, 1936.

King Fuad gave an audience to Nahas Pasha, and he saw him alone. He emphasised to the Wafd leader the desirability of maintaining the unity of all parties in the face of British representations for the conclusion

of a treaty, and he personally invited Nahas to undertake the formation of a Coalition. Nahas Pasha's reply was that a Coalition had been attempted many times in the past, and had always proved a failure, and that the members of his own, and sympathetic parties, now known as the United Front, had agreed that a new Government should be formed from a Parliamentary majority. In the circumstances, he gave it as his opinion that an interim Government was unnecessary as the elections were shortly impending.

Moreover, he gave a formal undertaking to King Fuad that if, as expected, the Wafd obtained a Parliamentary majority and undertook negotiations with Great Britain, the delegation would include members of the United Front.

King Fuad did his utmost to persuade Nahas Pasha to reconsider his attitude.

On February 13, 1936, King Fuad issued a rescript appointing thirteen Egyptian delegates to the delegation to negotiate with Great Britain. It was one of his last acts, and from thereon he was to find it necessary more and more to retire from public affairs in an effort to regain his failing health.

In the confines of his Palace he had long talks with Ali Pasha Maher, the Chief of the Royal Cabinet, to whom he made no secret of his belief that he was slowly dying. He asked for strength to live throughout the negotiations with Great Britain, but this was denied him.

He, more than any other in Modern Egypt, had a correct perspective. He may have been an autocrat,

but he laboured for what he believed to be his country's good, and no one has been able to deny that his achievements were considerable. They were so because he could see the faults in his countrymen, and he looked upon Egypt almost with the eyes of an European. He could see through the pretensions of so many whose principal weapon was bombast, and he was disliked accordingly. He was acutely alive to the shortcomings of others, and a temper, somewhat irascible, did not always prompt him to say the kind thing, but he was under no delusions.

Especially was this so in the case of the army. In the troubled international state which had come with the post-War years he appreciated the fact that considerable reliance had to be placed on the armed might of the British Empire, and within suitable limits, he was astute enough to allow an alien nation to meet a very considerable annual bill which otherwise would have to be presented for payment to the people of Egypt. He was apt to be impatient of those who failed to follow his reasoning in this respect, believing that they did so in ignorance and because of their lack of military perception which would enable them even faintly to conceive of the cost of real military efficiency.

His insistence, in the face of the strongest opposition of the security which attached to a British alliance had gradually borne fruit, and when he lay on his death-bed it was in the realisation that there were those who fully understood that it was incumbent upon Great Britain to maintain her lines of communication. In-

stead of the cry for complete evacuation, there had come about a distinct change in the popular demand.

This was not so much for the retirement of British troops, as for their effacement from the political landscape. Thus, although the Wafd and other parties would not admit that the military situation justified the permanent occupation of Cairo and Alexandria, Nahas Pasha had agreed in 1930, and was prepared to agree again that the withdrawal of these troops to the Canal zone and elsewhere should be postponed until the Egyptian Government had provided the necessary barracks, water supplies and communications. Also, the presence of a strong British military mission at Cairo, and the stationing of British air units and ground troops west of Alexandria was something which was encountering little opposition. But, and here popular agreement with Fuad came to a full stop.

If any compromise were possible, it existed only in the line of pushing British concentrations farther away from Cairo and Alexandria. The United Front, especially, failed entirely to see eye to eye with Fuad on the desirability of retaining British troops in Cairo and Alexandria. They argued, and with some degree of truth, that occupation as a temporary measure in times of strain or in the face of war dangers was entirely another matter, but the Egyptian was apt to see in the khaki-clad figures of the British troops stationed in Cairo and Alexandria not so much representatives of an alien power as alien policemen specially sta-

tioned to uphold the dignity and prestige of an Egyptian monarch who had failed to capture popular esteem and regard.

The people of Cairo and Alexandria had seen British troops as the power behind the throne on too many occasions lightly to accept the military *status quo*. And, paradoxically enough, any animus which may exist, is not directed against the troops, for whom the majority of Egyptians have a very real respect, but against the Palace which, in the set opinion of the Egyptian politician, was long prepared to flout Egyptian *amour-propre* in order the more securely to cement upon to a constitutional framework the ugly edifice of a "Palace" Government.

Before he was confined to his bed, King Fuad told the leaders of the United Front, with every sign of emotion, that his dearest wish was to live to see the conclusion of an Anglo-Egyptian treaty, but even then, in that hour of extremity, he was careful to keep them guessing as to the manner of the treaty he envisaged.

The conversations which opened in Cairo on March 2, 1936 between Sir Miles Lampson, the British High Commissioner and the Egyptian delegation were intended to ascertain whether any basis could be found for the final settlement of what have long been known as the "Reserved Points".

These are the points which were left for settlement after Great Britain's conferment of independence upon Egypt in 1922. They are four in number and can briefly be stated as:

(1) The security of British Imperial communications in Egypt.

(2) The defence of Egypt against foreign aggression.

(3) The protection of foreign interests and minorities.

(4) The Sudan.

As has been seen, repeated efforts had been made to secure decision on these points, but all had failed. Egyptians themselves were anxious to come to a final settlement because they believed that once a treaty had been established the excuse for British interference in the realm of domestic politics would largely disappear. Egyptians maintained that with Egypt's status undefined, her assumption of independence was nothing but a snare and a delusion.

To a country which is immensely proud of its independence the form which any such treaty may take is one of paramount difficulty, because when rendered to paper any arrangement which could meet the requirements of the British must seem to impinge on this all-important question of independence.

King Fuad saw the force of this, and he was fully alive to the demands of an irksome situation where his country had been placed astride a vital salient. He had reason to believe that the British would demand a treaty of alliance under which, in the event of hostilities, Egypt would unreservedly place at the disposal of Great Britain all her ports, aerodromes, and railways. In this lay the reason for his repeated efforts to secure a Coalition Cabinet, and wide representation on the delegation which was to represent Egypt in the treaty negotiations. He was aware that claims

on Egypt which Egyptian public opinion would find it difficult to digest would be included in the British demands, and he desired Egypt's representation to be wide—and particularly wide enough to include the Wafd—in order that any agreement which was reached should be accepted as binding on all parties.

He was prepared also to bargain. He was ready, to a degree, to press the claims of Egypt provided the United Front supported him in respect to the Sudan. Egypt's wish to control the waters of the Nile had been largely met by the Convention of 1929 which provides for a fair partition of the water. The claim to a fair share in administration had been more or less satisfied by Mr. Arthur Henderson in 1930 when he agreed to the insertion of two clauses in the treaty then proposed, to the effect that there should be no prejudice to Egypt's rights and material interests, and no discrimination between British subjects and Egyptian nationals in matters of commerce and immigration or the possession of property. In 1930 Nahas Pasha, and those with him, had demanded unrestricted emigration, and the negotiations broke down on this point, but in the intervening years illusions as to the opportunities which the Sudan has to offer to Egyptians had been largely dispelled, and interest in the country had lapsed to a degree which was extraordinary in comparison with that which obtained a decade earlier.

Fuad desired special powers and privileges in the Sudan, and he was looking for a *quid pro quo* from the parties of the United Front in return for his efforts in

respect to Egypt, and he was a greatly disappointed man when he failed to persuade Nahas Pasha to join in a Coalition Government, and to him fell the task of issuing a rescript and appointing men of his own selection to represent his country in a matter so vital to her interests.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

ACHIEVEMENTS

KING FUAD, IF HE WAS frequently the centre of an internecine warfare, and if he had little respect for the views of the masses, had the interests of his country firmly implanted in his heart. If Egyptians criticised his methods of government, if they squirmed under his autocratic promptings, and if at times they would see him prised from his throne and sent into perpetual banishment, could not but agree that under his personal ægis great works were performed and Egypt firmly placed upon the road to prosperity. Fuad had vision, and the mentality which could envisage an immense scheme and find it economically sound or unsound. His name will be associated for all time with some of the major public works which the world has seen.

As an instance, it can be recalled that the expenditure for which the Ministry of Public Works budgeted for the financial year 1928-29, amounted to nearly £8,000,000—a vast sum for a country the size of Egypt. Numerous projects of the highest importance for the country were being completed, and others were under consideration.

The outstanding event of this year was the laying

of the foundation stone, by King Fuad, of the barrage of Nag Hamadi, in Upper Egypt. Then the Minister of Public Works, in his speech in the presence of His Majesty, paid profound homage to the wise and judicious counsels of King Fuad to his Government in the field of public works.

The Nag Hamadi barrage, which King Fuad was to live to see completed, cost Egypt many millions of pounds, but it allows of the irrigation of about 600,000 acres of land which, during the last thirty years, have suffered severely upon eight separate occasions in consequence of low Nile floods. The barrage includes, apart from the main barrage, accessory but necessary works such as bridges and regulators, and two canals, one of which bears the name of King Fuad, and the other that of (King) Faruk.

Major works such as Fuad devised could never have been contemplated had he not insisted that there should always be an excess of revenue over expenditure. King Fuad could spend, but he was a cautious financier. He lived to see his country build up a substantial reserve fund of many millions. Even to the end he endeavoured still further to improve the financial situation by increasing the revenue of the State, as far as the political situation would allow, by diminishing public expenditure in numerous directions and developing the wealth of the country.

Under King Fuad's promptings customs tariffs were revised, new taxes were introduced, new railway lines were built, maintenance expenses of railways were

reduced and the saving reflected in a deduction in fares; roads were cut through tracts where wheeled transport had hitherto been impossible, and redundant Government officials were weeded out from offices in which they had found profitable sanctuary for years.

King Fuad amended the regulations of the Account Market in a manner bringing them into harmony with the interests of healthy trading, and he appointed a commission to inquire into and suitably amend the rules of the Stock Exchange.

His Majesty took a wide interest in trading, and in 1927 issued a decree which insured for Egyptians a larger share in the administration and shares of joint stock companies. Under this decree the board of directors of an Egyptian joint stock company must include at least two directors of Egyptian nationality. One fourth of the employees, apart from workmen, must be Egyptian. In every issue of stock, shares or debentures, one fourth of the total amount must be reserved for public subscription in Egypt, and four-fifths of this quota must be reserved for Egyptians.

His Majesty's interest in the Egyptian University was sustained and intense. In October, 1927, he promulgated a law for the reorganisation of the University, the functions of which were thereby extended to the inclusion of everything connected with higher education under the faculties of literature, science, medicine and law. In general, the object of the University is to encourage scientific research and to foster the development of the sciences and of literature. The University

is recognised as a corporation in law, with full rights of pleading, to administer its property, to utilise for its annual expenditure the subsidies provided by the Government.

The indefatigable labours of the King in connection with the University received their official consecration on February 7, 1928 when surrounded by the Princes of the Royal family, former Ministers, religious dignitaries and Egyptian and foreign notabilities, His Majesty laid the foundation stone of the new building of the Egyptian University at Giza on the outskirts of Cairo.

In an eloquent speech, the Rector paid a warm tribute to "the unfailing interest of His Majesty in the University, which owes its existence to him" and to the untiring efforts, which both as Prince and King, Fuad I devoted to the establishment and development of the University.

Before he died, King Fuad enriched the University by the valuable library of the late Prince Ibrahim Hilmi who died at Cimiez, near Nice. Brother and inheritor of the Prince, His Majesty relinquished his share in this unique library for the benefit of the University and thus set an example which other legatees were not slow to follow.

The University library was thus increased by nearly 20,000 volumes connected especially with Egyptian and Oriental subjects.

King Fuad's interest in the Farukieh Naval School has already been mentioned. This interest was sufficient to realise £20,000 in donations for the pre-

liminary needs of the institution almost as soon as he announced his scheme for its formations. Two members of the Royal Family presented each a private yacht, and Alexandria shipowners combined to present a sailing ship.

When Lord Inchcape, Chairman of the Peninsular and Orient Steam Navigation Company was in Egypt, His Majesty invited him to visit the School and to give him his frank opinion of it. Lord Inchcape accepted the invitation and subsequently presented a report stating that the School was in no way inferior to the *Worcester* training-ship in which the Egyptian naval mission had served its apprenticeship in British waters.

The development of the Egyptian Air Force was more or less entirely the outcome of King Fuad's tireless initiative. He placed the force in the hands of Kaimakam Tait Bey and Bimbashi S. N. Webster, the latter of whom will be remembered as the winner of the Schneider Trophy race in 1927. Experienced British officers were secured for the force, and Egyptian pilots were trained in the British R.A.F. School at Abu Sueir.

The Egyptian Air Force speedily justified the King's enterprise which led to its formation, and the pilots displayed a remarkable adaptability for work in the air. The Egyptian Air Force, soon after its formation, was able to afford close co-operation in preventive work, and some of its exploits in singling out drug trafficking caravans and in hunting them down were extraordinary. In addition the force carried out much

useful survey work, and lent valuable assistance to the Department of Antiquities, for which it carried out much important photographic work. For this latter it was especially commended by King Fuad, whose interest in the antiquities of his country was profound.

It was at his instigation that Egyptian excavators began work in the vicinity of the famous pyramids at Giza where, the world imagined, the spade had long ago unearthed all that there was to be revealed about the Pharaohs.

Dr. Selim Hassan, whose name is now world famous as an excavator, reported the discovery of a fourth pyramid in February, 1932, erected in memory of Queen Kent Kawes, who bore the title of "King of Upper and Lower Egypt". It may be doubted whether this queen was officially enthroned and crowned, but she must have exercised considerable influence upon the government of Egypt, and was possibly Regent during the minority of her son. It is notable that her title of "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" has not been applied to any other queen of the Old Kingdom.

It is assumed that this fourth pyramid was constructed during the Fifth Dynasty (2560-2420 B.C.), and it may be conjectured that Queen Kent Kawes is identical with the lady of the same name known from the pyramids of Abusir who bears the title of "Mother of the King".

Close to this fourth pyramid Dr. Selim Hassan made further important discoveries and he excavated tombs which proved to be treasure houses rivalling in

merit those spectacular finds recently made in the Valley of Kings.

It was largely due to King Fuad that regulations were passed which retained for Egypt the rich spoils of her past.

No longer is it possible to dig in Egypt and to remove from the country the results of one's labours without the permission of the authorities concerned.

King Fuad had a veneration for the past, and while he did not object to licensed excavation, and indeed encouraged it, he set his face against exploitation—something which he coldly condemned as vandalism.

Interest in this sphere was naturally allied to the geographical. Due to the unceasing generosity of King Fuad it was found possible to advance Egypt's Royal Geographical Society to the first rank of the scientific institutions in the country. Its extensive collection of scientific works included at the time of King Fuad's death the masterly treatise in three volumes of M. de la Ronciere on the Discovery of Africa in the Middle Ages, remarkable both for its excellent and artistic printing and for its reproductions of ancient maps mostly unknown or previously unpublished. Mention must also be made of the monographs on the Eastern Desert of Egypt, the ancient canals, the sites and ports of Suez, and the port of Alexandria.

The Society undertook, at the personal suggestion of King Fuad, to produce a museum of Egyptian ethnography. This museum was planned upon a comprehensive scale to embody all the objects made

and used in the country and which tend more and more to disappear in consequence of the increasing employment of imported European articles of greater durability and of low cost.

King Fuad's connection with the Geographical Society was close and intimate, and was no mere social obligation. He was a frequent visitor to the Society's headquarters, and he took a personal part in its work.

He remarked upon one of his visits: "It is only when a people cultivates its feelings of veneration for its ancestors, and the deeds of its own heroes, that it learns and appreciates to the full the secret of its future, for it attains at that moment the highest point of civilisation."

On another occasion he said :

"Our glories in the past, as also our sacred traditions, will aid us to urge forward our Fatherland at its rebirth toward the human perfection."

King's Fuad's constant preoccupation was to encourage respect for ancestral memories and veneration for the glories of the past. The archives of London, Paris, Naples, Florence, Leghorn, Venice and Vienna were minutely searched at His Majesty's behest for information concerning the period of Mohamed Ali, and many interesting studies of that period were published from time to time under the auspices of Fuad. Among these may be mentioned two collections of the correspondence of the Consuls of France in Egypt from 1802 to 1804, and from 1805 to 1807, published successively in 1925 and 1926, the correspondence of Generals Belliard and Boyer,

published under the title of *A French Military Mission to Mohamed Ali*; the *Embassy of Elfi Bey in London in 1803*; *The First Frigate of Mohamed Ali* and *The State Coach of Ibrahim Bey*.

King Fuad placed the sum of £7,000 in the Bank of France in Paris for the expenses of the composition of a complete history of Egypt from the most ancient times up to the present day. Armed with this substantial indication of the King's interest M. Gabriel Hanotaux, assisted by a group of historical experts, is even now engaged upon the production of a work which will undoubtedly remove an important hiatus in the history of mankind.

Yet another of King Fuad's spheres of activity was to be found in the Royal Society of Political Economy, Statistics and Legislation.

On January 5, 1928, His Majesty opened the new premises of the Society which owed its existence to Fuad's personal generosity. The Princes of the Royal Family, members of the Diplomatic Corps and delegates of foreign governments to the statistical Congress held in Cairo which had just terminated its labours, were present at this ceremony.

The President of the Society, in his address said: ". . . none of us can forget that the endowment of this building, where the peaceful atmosphere of our research work will be ensured, is bestowed upon us by the same hand as that of the President-Founder who, in April, 1909, placed the signature of Prince Fuad upon the minutes of constitution.

"We read," said the President, "in the history of a

certain country of Europe that a monarch of bygone times insisted upon punctuality as a royal virtue; our archives demonstrate to us that this virtue is already a princely ornament of the land of Egypt. . . . Indeed, our minutes of a continual presidency of five years reveal but a single occasion when His Majesty (then His Highness, Prince Fuad) considered that engagements of another order were sufficiently pressing to oblige him to absent himself from a meeting of our Council."

Another of King Fuad's ventures was the Royal Entomological Society of Egypt, the buildings of which he ceremonially opened on January 28, 1928, in the Avenue of Queen Nazli. In his opening speech the President of the Society paid a striking tribute to the generous assistance and support which His Majesty ever displayed in all matters affecting science and scientists.

Before leaving the new building, His Majesty made a personal donation of £1,000 from his private purse for the library and laboratory of the Society.

King Fuad, alive to what the co-operative movement had accomplished in Great Britain and in India, was especially desirous that its activities should be extended to the fellahin. He saw in the co-operative principle a means of ridding the fellahs from the terrific incubus of death which most of them bore on their shoulders and a way to relieve them from the tenacious clutches of the moneylenders.

In 1923 a law concerning agricultural co-operative societies was promulgated, but it was subsequently

considered that this legislation required both reform and extension. His Majesty called a Commission to be formed at the Ministry of Agriculture to consider this question and from the labours of this Commission the present administration of Egyptian co-operative societies was embodied in a law passed in 1927. It is now no longer a question of simple agricultural co-operatives, with which the law of 1923 was concerned, but of co-operative societies intended to improve the material situation of their associates in respect to production, buying, selling, credit, insurance, land development, irrigation and drainage works, cheap house construction, and similar matters.

To encourage the spirit of co-operation, the law affords the societies considerable advantages. They are exempted from certain fees in connection with their establishment or the amendment of their statutes, from fees for transfers of their property or property rights, from all fees for the attestation of signatures, from the deposit of a security in the event of their tendering for government contracts and from certain customs dues.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

MOSLEM THEOLOGY

KING FUAD, AS HAS BEEN noted, had a very ripe appreciation of his position in the Moslem world. He fought, with every ounce of energy that was within him, the Egyptian counterpart to the Young Turks, and for a very considerable time he remained deeply suspicious of an organisation which sprang into being after the War and styled itself the Young Men's Moslem Association. The fact that this body offered its Presidency to an ardent Nationalist, who incidentally declined the honour, led His Majesty to an erroneous assumption as to its aims. Later, when the Association's work became better known, he was to accord it every assistance.

Fuad gave more than one indication of his views respecting the Caliphate which, he considered, might well be in his keeping.

It was in November, 1922, that the Grand National Assembly of the new Turkish Republic passed its Bill abolishing the Sultanate. Abdel Mejid, son of the deposed Sultan, was at the same time created Caliph without temporal power. According to the law of Islam, temporal power must be one of the conditions attaching to the position of Caliph, but Abdel Mejid

accepted the post, notwithstanding the truncated form in which it was offered. The office of Caliph, in such circumstances, could be little more than something to distract the minds of the Moslem masses from the true position of affairs, and its hollowness was proclaimed to the entire world a year later when, by an overwhelming majority, the Turkish Grand National Assembly abolished the Ottoman Caliphate in its entirety.

The Moslem world was left aghast. First of all the temporal power of the Caliph was stripped away. Then, the Caliph disappeared altogether. Moslems the world over were without a spiritual head, and confusion reigned.

Efforts were naturally made to proclaim a new Caliph, and Fuad, who had already displayed the keenest interest in Egyptian theological institutions, considered that he was the rightful choice. However, when King Hussain, Sherif of Mecca, visited Trans-Jordania in 1924, he was offered and accepted the Caliphate. As is known, he held the position for a very short period. Within six months of becoming Caliph he was defeated by Ibn Saud and lost Mecca. He died at Amman in Trans-Jordania in 1931.

Only some sections of the populations of Palestine, Trans-Jordania and Syria took the oath of allegiance to Hussain, so that this attempt to establish a Caliph lacked the merit of being practical.

With Hussain's disappearance from Mecca, the Ulema of al-Azhar University in Cairo considered the convocation of a general Islamic conference in

order to examine and settle the question of the Caliphate. There were many delays, but eventually a congress was finally held in Cairo in 1926. The attendance, however, was far from representative, and the congress did nothing except to pass a resolution to the effect that the appointment of a Caliph must be deliberated upon in a meeting at which all the peoples of Islam were represented.

Had Fuad been more of a popular figure, it is certain that his name would have been considered at this congress, for the ancient University of al-Azhar has an immense prestige throughout the Moslem world, and its recommendations would have been accepted.

The University of al-Azhar is attended by not less than 12,000 students, many of whom come from the most distant Moslem countries, and in that respect it can be said to be widely representative.

At the period when this congress was held King Fuad had made his reforming zeal felt even in the hallowed precincts of al-Azhar, and there were those who regarded his actions with a certain dismay and a real distrust born of a rigid conservatism.

For many years, however, it had been realised that the instruction afforded by the University and similar establishments at Tanta and Alexandria, were no longer in harmony with modern requirements. Many reformers had thought to rejuvenate the curriculum by the introduction of the elements of modern science, but they encountered very great difficulties, some of a material nature, but others on account of the profound conservatism of the Ulema of the University.

King Fuad had no hesitation in stepping in where so many others had failed. He applied himself with vigour to this labour, but he proceeded by degrees, and with infinite caution.

The reorganisation of the Higher Council of the University was his first step. Superannuated regulations rendered the position of each member of the Council uncertain, and gave rise to all manner of obstacles in the path of necessary reforms.

Numerous laws, rescripts and regulations were promulgated by King Fuad, and considerable reforms were introduced.

For a long period the University of the Mosque of al-Azhar was the sole institution for Moslem religious instruction, but in the course of time, and in consequence of the ever-increasing number of students, it became necessary to establish new institutions. In 1923 seven such institutions existed, but not all had the renown of the al-Azhar University or that of the Mosque of el-Ahmadi, at Tanta. Students flocked to these two establishments, and there were many complaints of overcrowding.

Fuad, in order to bring about a measure of decentralisation, seized upon his favourite subject—sanitation. With so many students flocking to al-Azhar the sanitation left something to be desired, and Fuad acted. He created new institutions at Zagazig and Assiout, and to each institution he applied a specified area. At Zagazig instruction is given in the principal mosque, and the Ministry of the Wakfs, in conformity with His Majesty's desire, erected a splendid building,

embodying the most modern sanitary principles, for the accommodation of a thousand students. This building cost over £40,000. It was King Fuad's ambition to see each province equipped with these special theological institutions.

Formerly, the principal characteristic of the University of al-Azhar was its embodiment of the three degrees of education: elementary, secondary, and higher, while other institutions offered only elementary and secondary. A law of 1911 established equality by authorising other institutions, besides al-Azhar, to dispense higher education, on condition that the final examinations for the degree of Ulema should be held in Cairo. It was soon discovered, however, that there was a serious defect in this change in that students from different centres of instruction differed widely in capacity.

King Fuad instructed the Higher Council of al-Azhar to conduct a close investigation, and in September, 1921, it was decided that all higher education should be centralised at the University of al-Azhar. A series of subsequent laws, promulgated in 1923, 1924 and 1925 re-attached to the University several schools of special instruction, such as the School of Kadis at Dar-el-Ulum, and the elementary training colleges.

King Fuad also had in mind the question of the Caliphate when he evinced such a lively interest in art and literature. With the support of His Majesty, the Egyptian Library began methodically to carry out the publication of ancient Arab manuscripts,

and the re-publication of celebrated works rightly regarded as some of the finest achievements of Arab literature. This work proceeds.

Tradition, as well as Koranic law, accords to the sovereign the supreme trusteeship of Wakfs, or Pious foundations. Even after the promulgation of the constitution, this system, which invests the sovereign with the right of supreme control over the administration of Wakf property, was maintained. The autonomy of the budget of the Ministry of Wakfs was preserved, and although submitted to Parliament for approval, it was not included in the general budget.

King Fuad found that the Wakfs administration had left a great deal to be desired from many points of view. Red tape methods, the carelessness of the personnel, bad habits embedded in the administration, the extreme difficulty of closely controlling innumerable landed properties and houses scattered all over the country, at first complicated his task as a reformer and nullified his best intentions.

Matters had been rendered the worse by the failure of senior officials to present an example to their subordinates of honest service and devotion to public interests, and it was also said that, prior to the War, even some high personages had not deemed it derogatory to their dignity to make improper use of their prerogatives and to divert the revenues of the Pious foundations from their legitimate channels.

King Fuad introduced a system of checking accounts which was as water-tight as ingenuity could make it, and the regrettable practices which he dis-

covered when he first commenced his inquiries soon became a matter of the past. As a result there followed a very considerable improvement in revenues.

Under Fuad's guiding hand order and discipline was instilled into the administration, and energetic and upright directors were placed at the head of the various departments. A whole host of incompetent officials were displaced, the various services were reorganised, and a very strict system of surveillance was exercised.

It cannot be said that King Fuad achieved perfection, but the progress he was able to report was remarkable.

Before he assumed control the budget of the Ministry of Wakfs had almost invariably displayed a deficit. It was not long before it was showing a healthy surplus. All the money which Fuad thus diverted from illegitimate channels was devoted either to religious or social charities.

Under his trusteeship considerable areas of uncultivated land were improved and made cultivatable. New religious establishments, dwelling houses, mosques, schools and homes were founded; contributions were mitigated, and sanitary dwellings were erected for the fellahin upon lands which had been reclaimed, thus ensuring a regular and sufficient supply of labour for the land. Finally, new drainage systems and canals were constructed for the improvement of cultivatable lands in order to increase their revenues.

Thanks to the energetic trusteeship of King Fuad,

and as a result of the better reputation acquired by the Ministry of Wakfs, the Ministry was enabled to take over a large estate hitherto held by the Government and known as the Teftiche-el-Wadi. Before Fuad died this estate was yielding a revenue of £66,727 a year.

In 1917, the revenue of the private Wakfs amounted to £522,125. Fuad lived to see this amount doubled. The number of private Wakfs administered by the Ministry increased from 648 in 1917, to 742 in 1924, while the number of beneficiaries increased from 4,436 in 1920 to 7,540 in 1924.

The accountancy of these Wakfs, often very complicated on account of the multiplicity of shares in single properties, and the number of properties themselves, together with their independence of each other, was completely reorganised, and not only rendered clearer, but also expeditious.

Before King Fuad assumed his trusteeship, the beneficiaries of a Wakf made every effort to shield the property in question from control of the Ministry because of the defects attaching to the Ministry's administration and the reluctance of the beneficiaries to prejudice their position by placing money at the disposal of those whose public spirit was in question.

King Fuad so altered the composition of the Ministry of Wakfs that before he died he had the satisfaction of seeing the Ministry accepted, and being in that position where it was unable to comply with all the petitions addressed to it for the administration of properties.

More than 1,300 mosques, homes and asylums were administered and maintained by the Ministry of Wakfs under the supreme control of King Fuad. He saw to it that the administration was made the more efficient by a more direct surveillance of inspectors of the Ministry, by a better selection of the personnel employed for the protection and maintenance of the various establishments, and by an improvement in salaries.

A very notable improvement was also made in the sanitary condition of many of the mosques, and before King Fuad died he had so far broken down prejudice that more than a hundred, including the most celebrated, were lighted by electricity. In addition to this number, with electric lighting supplied by the Ministry, there were many other mosques similarly illuminated at the expense of pious persons.

Mention has to be made in this connection of the plan, directly due to the personal initiative of King Fuad, for the reconstruction of the famous Mosque of Amru at Cairo.

A competition, open to architects of all nations, was held for this purpose by the Ministry of Wakfs. The scheme submitted had to include that part of the city surrounding the Mosque of Amru at the time of the Ikscidita Dynasty (324 A.H.-936 A.D.), just before the Fatimite period; a complete general plan of the Mosque itself together with an explanation of the materials employed, a history of the Mosque during its greatest period of splendour. These plans and descriptions had to be supported and proved scientifically by

the reproduction of old drawings, quotations and transcriptions which had been utilised as bases for the production of the scheme.

King Fuad also made considerable progress in connection with the medical service of the Ministry of Wakfs. A section for in-patients was opened in the King's Hospital, and the magnificent sanatorium for tuberculosis at Helwan was equipped with the same perfection as the most famous of European sanatoriums.

Finally, the archives of the Ministry of Wakfs, which are of immense importance, were reorganised from beginning to end. Many thousands of files were examined, and put in order.

If much of the energy which King Fuad directed into these channels was dictated by a desire to qualify himself in the minds of the Moslem world for the position of Caliphate, the success attending his endeavours cannot be gainsaid.

The declaration naming King Hussain as Caliph in 1924 was unfortunate, because it meant that the subject could not be raised without causing dissension among Moslems, and since 1924, the general tendency among Moslems in all countries has been to exclude and remove from the orbit of discussion anything of a contentious nature.

Men like Shawkat Ali in India have been anxious that a Caliph should be named, but nearer at home King Fuad found a strong disposition not to awaken the matter from its slumber.

In 1931, *Nur al-Islam*, a review published by al-Azhar

University, published a declaration opposing the intention of dealing with the Caliphate question at a congress then to be held in Jerusalem, and maintained that the time had not yet come when the subject could be usefully considered.

It must not be surmised from this that the Caliphate question is dead. King Fuad knew that it was not. He knew also that geographically, the claims of Cairo and its ruler were strong; as strong almost as those of Ibn Saud in Mecca.

In a sense King Fuad was careful to keep pace with Ibn Saud. In Mecca there was a ruler, a reformer both religious and civil, who was leading the religion back to its ancient purity and simplicity. At the same time Ibn Saud was allowing into Arabia Western science and practice, yet rigidly excluding from the West anything that might impinge on the simplicity of Islam's ideal.

In a measure Fuad did the same. He asserted his supreme control over the Ministry of Wakfs, and he did much to develop Islamic and Arabic ideals.

When his suspicions respecting the Association of Moslem Young Men were dissolved, he did much to further the Association's work. The regulations of the Association were drawn up in Cairo in November, 1927, and it was made a condition of active membership that the member must be a Moslem, of good conduct and reputation, and must not have any tendencies contrary to the principles of Islamic Faith.

The aims of this Association are:

To spread Islamic humanisation and morals.

To endeavour to enlighten the minds by knowledge in a way that is adapted to modern times.

To work without dissension and abuses amongst Islamic parties and groups.

To take from the cultures of the East and the West all that is good, and to reject all that is bad.

King Fuad was chary of supporting this organisation at its inception because it was inclined to be too ardently Nationalist in outlook. When first mooted it was suggested that its name should be "The Association of Egyptian Young Men", but the present nomenclature was allowed to obtain. From that moment, the organisation progressed until to-day it is one of the most virile and significant movements in the Arabic-speaking world.

In so far as the aims of this Association were non-political, King Fuad gave it every support, and he induced a close relative and one of the Princes of Egypt, to become closely connected with the movement. It is extremely difficult, however, for a body such as the Association of Moslem Young Men, with articles such as it has accepted, entirely to keep without the orbit of political endeavour. With the spread of the movement to Iraq, Palestine and Syria, it was impossible for the Islamic feelings of the Association not to be stirred by a variety of events. The Association rapidly took the stand that while they had no objection to Christian missionaries expounding the beauties of their religion, the law forbade them to attack Islam. As, of course, a not inconsiderable proportion of Egyptians subscribe to the Christian

Faith, the Association was soon upon thorny ground, and King Fuad had to be exceedingly circumspect in the manner in which he afforded it his blessing. The Association became very active in its denunciation of the activities of some Christian missionaries, and the issue was forced to that pass where it became a matter for Ministerial consideration.

Egypt has important common features with Palestine, not the least of these being Arabic, and it was perhaps only natural that the Association of Moslem Young Men, with the Moslem ideal so much in the foreground, should regard with no little apprehension certain acts and declarations of the Zionists. When disturbances took place in Jerusalem in 1929 over the matter of the Wailing Wall which, unfortunately, forms part of the sacred Haram-ash-Sherif, the Association sent telegrams to the League of Nations, to the British Foreign Office, and to the High Commissioner in Jerusalem.

In these, and subsequent telegrams, the Association maintained that the site of the Wailing Wall, to which the Jews laid claim, was a spot hallowed in Moslem memory, and more significant still, that "every Moslem, in whatever part of the world, regards himself as a warrior who stands up together with the Moslems of Palestine to defend a pledge put into their hands. Moslems will never allow Zionists to make of a sacred site a centre of national propaganda, as long as there is left on the surface of the earth one Moslem, and as long as there is living blood pulsing in the veins of that Moslem".

To Western minds that language may savour of the extravagant, but later events have proved that it is less so than was commonly believed.

King Fuad, as much as he might personally sympathise with this young and virile Association in its fears respecting the Moslem places in Palestine, had to temper his actions with more than ordinary circumspection. He could not become embroiled in a matter of high international import, and he had no desire to try conclusions with the Zionists. He displayed a true Egyptian philosophy in this when he declared that it was entirely a matter for the British Government.

His unwillingness openly to augment the efforts of Egypt's Moslem Young Men was open to some misconstruction, and there were those in the movement who accused him of lukewarmness. There is no doubt, however, that he was correct in the attitude which he adopted, and he had the satisfaction of seeing it followed by the other outstanding rulers of the Arabic-speaking peoples, several of whom were, and are still, candidates for the Caliphate.

In the Arabic-speaking world of Islam King Fuad could see a growing cohesion, and a disposition to break down the barriers of race. He saw, during the years of his reign, a cementing of the bonds binding together the peoples of Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Syria and Trans-Jordania, and he was fully alive to the potential advantages and disadvantages of such a spiritual union.

He believed that with a strong and energetic Caliph,

with temporal as well as spiritual forces, Islam would again live and emerge from the welter of dissensions into which it had been so dramatically immersed by the precipitate action of the Young Turks of Angora.

Moreover, he honestly believed that he was the man, and here he would point to the amazingly successful results which had attended his trusteeship of the Egyptian Wakfs.

More and more he saw, partly because of the energy and the activities of the Association of Moslem Young Men, Cairo becoming the intellectual and geographical centre of Islam. He was careful, as far as lay in his power, to divert this movement from the purely pan-Islamic. Rather did he work for Islamic solidarity, and world events assisted him in this endeavour. The closing of mosques in Turkey, the attitude of Soviet Russia in respect to religion, the situation in Palestine, all tended toward a stronger connection between the Islamic communities all over the world.

It is not without interest to note that King Fuad's deliberate abstention from the field of international politics had its effect, for the matter was debated at the Congress of Boards of Directors of the Young Men's Association which was held in July, 1930.

The President asked the Congress to avoid the suspicion of bringing politics within the pale of the Association, though he held that actions such as defending the sacred place of the Wailing Wall fell within the articles of the Association, were purely Islamic in conception, and did not fall under the head of political actions.

After a lengthy debate the Congress agreed upon the necessity of the Association being upon its guard against the suspicion of interfering with politics and that it should devote itself to building up Islamic morals.

So many matters Islamic impinge so closely upon the political, however, that the charge of political bias can frequently be levelled. There is no question of the fact that Arab disquiet in Palestine receives much moral support from young Moslems in Egypt, Syria, Trans-Jordania, Iraq and the Hedjaz, and though this assistance can be defended as being purely Islamic in concept, it has political repercussions which cannot be ignored.

King Fuad was anxious to keep without this orbit, and the skilful manner in which he temporised was in keeping with the manner in which he overcame many another prickly situation in the nearer realms of home politics.

It is probable that events in Palestine will materially accelerate the march of cohesion between the Arabic-speaking countries, and that with this the question of the appointment of a Caliph will once again become an issue.

It is possible, if he had lived, that King Fuad would have realised his great desire and been proclaimed spiritual leader of the Moslem world.

As a son of Ismail Pasha he had the right degree of autocracy, and the qualities of statecraft which the position demands.

With the passing of the years his claims would have become the stronger, for in Egypt the seeds of Islam

have taken firm root. Their vitality is beyond question. More and more will Cairo become the accepted centre of Islam now that Constantinople has become Istambul.

And having lived sixty eight years of turbulent life, this gallant Son of Egypt had to obey the Koranic injunction: "From Allah all come and to Him all return."

On April 24, 1936, rumours began to circulate in Cairo regarding the health of His Majesty. These, although coming on top of previous statements regarding King Fuad's indisposition, did not create undue alarm. The issue of a bulletin the next day, which spoke of a hæmorrhage, took Egypt and the world at large by surprise.

The King fought his indisposition to the last, but it soon became obvious that he was sinking. His previous illnesses had taken a tremendous toll of his vitality and he had little stamina for the unequal contest.

On April 28, he died.

His Majesty, in accordance with the wishes which he had expressed on the day he became King, was placed on a bier. There was no coffin such as is known in Western countries. His body was covered with a light framework, over which was suspended the Egyptian flag.

As the funeral *cortège* moved away, the streets were solid with people who shouted quotations from the Koran.

"The King is dead and now is in heaven," the bystanders chanted.

INDEX

INDEX

- ABBAS II, 27, 60
 Abdin Palace, 123
 Adly Pasha, 159
 Abdullah-el-Taashi, 57
 Ahab, 29
 Ahmed Fuad, 17
 Allenby, Lord, 141
 Alexandria, 25, 29
 Alexandria and the Sudan,
 35
 Al-Azhar University, 181
 Amanullah, 240
 Arabi Bey, 31
 Armistice, 105
 Artillery, School of, 26
 Augustus, 21
 Austro-Hungarian Court,
 27
 BALDWIN, Stanley, Mr., 236
 Barrage, Nag Hamadi, 286
 Berera, 57
 Berber, 51
 Bogos, 57
 Book of Kings, 29
 Blue Nile, 22
 Breslau, 87
 British India, 121
 British navy, 43
 British Parliament, 51
 British Protectorate, 96
 British Residency, 131
 CADIS, 213
 Caliph, 309
 Central Powers, 85
 Chamberlain, Mr., 196
 Cheetham, Sir Milne, 98
 Colvin, Sir Auckland, 31
 Coptic art, 106
 Cromer, Lord, 28
 Cyprus, 41
 DEIRUT, 139
 Dervishes, 47
 Djemal Pasha, 100
 Drug Scourge, 251
 EGYPTIAN agitation, 145
 Egyptian Air Force, 289
 Egyptian Geographical
 Society, 73
 Egypt Promotion Society, 76
 Egyptian Red Crescent
 Society, 102
 El Arish, 94
 El Kantara, 100
 El Teb, 47
 Emmanuel, King, 66
 Egyptian Committee, 79
 Egyptian Railway battalion,
 192
 European Journey, 233

- FAHMY, Abdel Rahman, 172**
 Faizeh, Princess, 114
 Fakhri Pasha, 114
 Farukieh Naval School, 237
 Fawkia, Princess, 114
 Fawzieh, Princess, 114
 Firman, of Rabi el-Akhar, 178
 French, 22
 Fuad's father, 25
 Fuad, King, 167

GAZA, 94
 George, Lloyd, Mr., 157
 George, King, V, 168
 Gizch Palace, 18
 Gladstone, 41
 Goeben, 87
 Gordon, General, 49
 Graeco-Roman, 106
 Grand Mufti, 181
 Grey, Sir Edward, 86

HENDERSON, Arthur, Mr., 283
 Hicks, General, 46
 Holy Carpet, 120
 Hygiene, Museum of, 223

IBRAHIM Pasha, 18
 Ibrashi Pasha, 260
 Inchcape, Lord, 289
 Independent Sovereign, 165
 Institute of Applied Hydrobiology, 75
 International First Aid Society, 79
 I-smail, 17
 Italy, 22

KASSALA, 57
 Kemal-ad-Din, 109
 Khartoum, 30
 Kitchener's Force, 62
 King's Khassa, 260
 Koran, 212
 Kordofan, 47

LAMPSON, Sir Miles, 281
 Lancashire, 249
 Legations, 211
 Lesseps, de, 44
 Liberal Elements, 201
 Lister Institute, 220
 Loyalist, 118
 Lloyd, Lord, 202

MACDONALD, Ramsay, Mr., 191
 Mahdi, 45
 Mahkamahs, 213
 Mahmud Pasha, 246
 Maher, Ali Pasha, 278
 Malaria, 219
 Mallet, Sir L., 86
 Malta, 41
 Maxwell, General, 98
 Massawa, 22
 Mecca, 120
 Mejid, Abdel, 296
 Military Academy, 26
 Milner, Lord, 69
 Milner Mission, 148
 Mohamed Ali, 67
 Mohamed Said Pasha, 147
 Moncim, Abdel, Prince, 179
 Mohamed V, 84
 Montazeh, Palace of, 123

Mustapha, 26
Mustafa Kemal, 105

NATIONALISM, 129
Nazli, Queen, 294
Nessim Pasha, 174
Nessim Cabinet, 274
Nile Expedition, 56
Nile Delta, 100

OMDURMAN, 62
Olive, Mount of, 101
Opportunism, 39
Order of Mohamed Ali, 182
Order of Al-Kemal, 182

PALACE Dictatorship, 18
Palestine, 311
Porte, 29
President-Rector, 70
Provincial Councils, 72
Public Works, 285

RACCONIGI, 66
Race courses, 125
Representative Institutions,
69
Rockefeller, 220
Rothschild, 20
Rushdi Pasha, 89
Russell Pasha, 256

SALISBURY, Lord, 236
Sarwat Pasha, 163
Schweinfurth, Dr., 74
Simon, Sir John, 268
Sinai Peninsula, 210

Sheikh, Mohamed Abdu,
212
Sirdar, 62
Somali Coast, 57
Stack, Sir Lee, 194
Stewart, Colonel, 52
Sultan, 21
Suez Canal, 78

TAIT BEY, Kaimakam, 289
Tanta, 299
Tel-el-Kebir, 43
Tewfik, 24
Tripoli, 102
Turkey, 84

UNION, Party of, 198

VENGEANCE, Society of, 171
Vice-Consulates, 211
Vienna, 27

WAQFS, Departments of, 89
War, The, 83
Whitehall, 144
Wingate, Sir Reginald, 62
Wolseley, Lord, 41

YEHIA Pasha, 190
Young Men's Moslem
Association, 307
Yusuf Kemal, 179

ZAGHLUL Pasha, 130
Zeyla, 58
Zionists, 308
Ziwar, Ahmed, Pasha, 197

